



Punishment that makes a difference?

RESCALED principles practiced in existing Norwegian prisons

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1.0 Introduction

Norway is a long and narrow country situated north in Europe, and has a relatively low population density. There are few public transport links outside of the big cities, occasionally hard weather affecting the driving conditions and long distances between where people live. As a consequence, there is a need for a relatively large number of prisons. At the same time, the proximity principle is one of the most important principles in the Norwegian Correctional Service. It is acknowledged that closeness to one's family and the community one will return to is vital for the reintegration process. Norway therefore has a long tradition of having many small-scale district prisons.

In recent years, however, several of these small-scale prisons have been closed down in favour of large-scale prison institutions located in forests and industrial areas. This development is at odds with key principles of the Norwegian Correctional Service as well as research findings¹. Norway's large number of small prisons has also long been considered a major part of the country's humane penal policy². While witnessing trends in the opposite direction, it is important to look into how and why these facilities work.

This paper will give an overview of 11 of the remaining small-scale district prisons in Norway, and the way in which they are located, run and organised. It is written in conjunction with the work of RESCALED (the European movement for small-scale, differentiated and community-integrated detention houses), and aims to provide an insight into good practices as well as how the RESCALED principles are implemented in existing Norwegian prisons.

It will do so firstly by introducing the history of Norwegian prisons up until today, to provide the reader with context as to why and how the prisons described in this report were established. Secondly, it will elaborate on the concept of RESCALED and the criteria for the selected prisons. The subsequent chapters will present examples of Norwegian prisons, which hold one or more of the principles that RESCALED is proposing for the future of detention. The conclusion contains general remarks from the authors' point of view, on the meaning of size, differentiation and community-integration.



Locations of prisons and facilities visited and presented in this paper. Illustration: Tschubby / Wikimedia Commons

1.1 The history of Norwegian prisons

Norway's first cell prison was built in the capital in 1851, and was designed according to the Philadelphia system deriving from the U.S. Over the next decade, **56 small district prisons were built across the country**. These have been labelled 'the 1860s prisons'³, and were all designed in a similar manner by the German-Norwegian architects Wilhelm

¹ See e.g. Johnsen et al. (2001); Johnsen and Granheim (2011); Farmer (2017); Jewkes (2017).

² See e.g. Pratt (2007).

³ Several of these prisons are still operational today. See more on the '1860-prisons' in 'notes and explanations' (appendix).

von Hanno and Heinrich Ernst Schirmer. At the time, one believed in rehabilitation of offenders through **solitary confinement and religious beliefs**. The design of the buildings represented a clear manifestation of the current ideology of punishment, with long corridors of isolation cells, radiating from a central point. It was, however, soon noted that isolation had negative effects on human beings, leading to bad mental and physical health. The method of solitary confinement was therefore rejected only half a century after Norway's first cell prison was built.

Instead, **the ideology of rehabilitation gained a foothold in the Norwegian Correctional Service**. Crime was no longer attributed to defects in morality, but to defects in physical and mental health. The offender could be changed for the better, if he or she only received the right treatment. In the very beginning, this was practised through education and forced labour. Knowledge and work were supposed to 'cure' the offender. However, this proved not to be particularly successful. The recidivism rates were high and many escaped.

In 1951, a committee was appointed to look into the matter of prison reforms. The committee pointed to several weaknesses of the current system and proposed that new measures should be based on research findings and professional knowledge. Attention was also given to 'community-treatment' as a better alternative to 'single-room treatment', and differentiated treatment as a better alternative to standardised treatment.

The optimism with regard to rehabilitation and reintegration was at its highest in the 1960s. The perception that almost all could be saved from lawless behaviour was dominating in the field of penology. The prisons started to welcome treatment professionals, such as psychologists and social workers. The 'the import model'⁴ was also introduced, and contributed amongst others to differentiated education and work training.

However, a gap between ideals and reality remained. This facilitated a long-lasting debate on Norwegian prison conditions, where e.g. the transparency of the system, visiting schemes and the material conditions of the old prisons were subject to criticism. KROM, 'the Norwegian association for Penal Reform', played an important part in this process and continued to raise questions about the state of affairs.

To meet the critique and being able to offer differentiated imprisonment, as well as to utilise resources in empty institutions and handling the growing 'prison queue'⁵, a number of **new prisons**

were established from the 1970s onwards. These prisons offered a completely different architectural character than the 100-year-old compact and inflexible district prisons. Former military camps, 'boys' homes' and special schools were turned into open prisons.⁶



Agder prison, built in 2020, is one of the first of the standardised "Model 2015" facilities of the Correctional service. Photo: Norwegian Correctional Service / Flickr

Around the same time, a new White Paper on the Correctional Service was delivered to the Storting (The Norwegian Parliament). While criminal behaviour had previously been ascribed to defects in morality or mental disease, the report

⁴ See notes and explanations on 'the import model' (appendix).

⁵ To avoid overcrowding, people who are convicted in Norway have to wait to be called in to serve their sentence. Those convicted of more serious crimes are, however, imprisoned immediately, while other groups have to wait in a 'prison queue'.

⁶ Bastøy, Berg and Valdres prison are examples of this, which are all presented in this paper.

pointed to the societal causes of crime. A new reasoning for the Correctional Service was presented, where **human dignity and justice were central justifications for the implementation of new measures**. Work training, education, treatment and cultural and leisure activities should be offered during the period of imprisonment, both because it had value in itself and could have a rehabilitative effect, but mainly because it was 'the right thing to do' from a justice point of view. The report spoke of solidarity, humaneness and the importance of providing incarcerated people with opportunities to become law-abiding citizens. Measures such as community sentences, progression towards release, increased support to the victims, the introduction of mediation services and increased use of open prisons were promoted.

While the White Paper was regarded as controversial when it was first introduced, the vast majority of the suggestions are today important and self-evident parts of the Norwegian Correctional Service. One may therefore argue that the report as well as the process leading up to it laid the foundation of the contemporary Norwegian Correctional Service.⁷

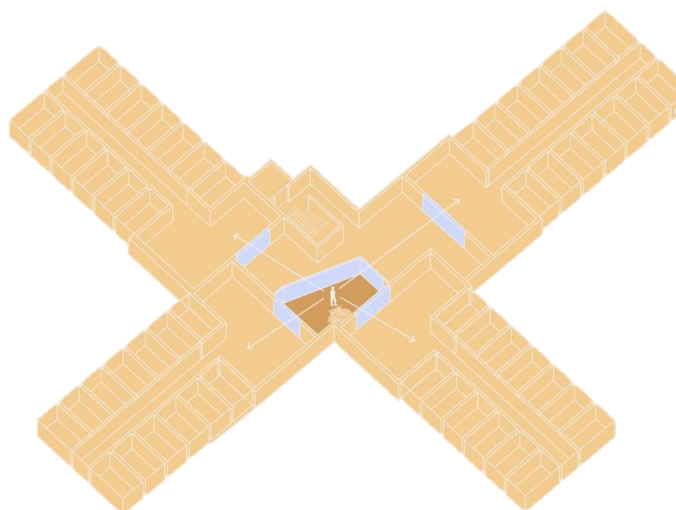
Today, the vision of the Correctional Service is '**punishment that makes a difference**'. Despite different means of interpretation and practice, the ideology of rehabilitation has been prevailing in the Norwegian Correctional Service ever since it first gained a foothold. In recent years, however, the Norwegian Correctional Service has been marked by a new focus on administration, cost-efficiency and new technologies. Prisons are getting bigger and secluded, the construction processes are becoming standardised and budgets have been decreased. The ideology of rehabilitation remains important on paper, but has received less attention in practice.

1.2 The current situation

In 2015, the conservative government of Erna Solberg introduced a new 'debureaucratisation and efficiency reform' (the ABE reform)⁸ for the public sector. The reform involved yearly budget cuts of 0.5 per cent of the operational expenses for all public institutions as well as a requirement that all state-owned enterprises would have to implement yearly measures to increase productivity in line with the cuts.

To meet this demand, Statsbygg (the Norwegian Directorate of Public Construction and Property) and Kriminalomsorgsdirektoratet (the Norwegian Directorate for Correctional Services) developed a standardised prison building: 'Model 2015', housing up to 96 people. The model applies the Philadelphia system from the 19th century. The architects also adopted the surveillance system of Panopticon, developed by Jeremy Bentham at the end of the 18th century. The newest prisons in Norway thus hold similarities to the first prison built in Norway in 1851.

Model 2015 has received two awards for introducing a standardised and industrialised prison building. Yet, the design has met a lot of criticism from stakeholders within the field, such as researchers, NGOs, the trade union for prison staff, architects and politicians. The model has been described as a 'machine' and a prison 'container'⁹. It has been argued that it represents a step back in time and an Americanisation of Norwegian prisons¹⁰.



This illustration outlines how the Philadelphia system and panoptic principles are put into practice in Model 2015 prisons. Illustration: Johanne Dalemark

⁷ More information about the history of Norwegian prisons can be found in the white paper: 'punishment that works – less crime – a safer society'

⁸ Read more at: <https://www.fafo.no/images/pub/summaries/20733-summary.pdf>

⁹ See Artntzen (2018); Håkonsen (2018)

¹⁰ See e.g. Ljosland (2022); Woltman (2018)

1.3 RESCALED and the three principles

RESCALED is a European movement working to promote an alternative model for detention. The recent trend of building larger prison institutions in Norway is making it increasingly difficult to achieve the ambitions and apply the principles of the Correctional Service. RESCALED therefore suggests the introduction of a more inclusive, safe and sustainable alternative for the 21st century: small-scale, differentiated and community-integrated detention houses.

Research on Norwegian prisons suggests that both incarcerated people and staff experience a better quality of life in small-scale facilities¹¹. And a better quality of life has, in turn, been linked to an increased chance of successful reintegration into society¹². Small-scale is also an important prerequisite for strengthening social bonds between incarcerated people and the staff.

Incarcerated people are not a homogenous group. Hence, one must take into account that a standardised approach in rehabilitation and reintegration practices does not work for everyone. With many smaller facilities, it is easier to provide a tailor-made approach to each individual incarcerated person. Differentiation means to place people in the best context according to the needs and conditions that fit the incarcerated person. Namely providing the right security level and offering services, activities and programs that fit the needs of the residents.

The third principle of the RESCALED model is community-integration. The ambition is to retain the people in detention as members of society, even though they are incarcerated. To achieve this, there must be a dynamic interaction between incarcerated people and the communities. The incarcerated people make use of services available in the community, and add value to the neighbourhood and society in return. For instance, detention facilities may operate a bicycle workshop, a restaurant, catering service or other services in their local communities. This builds mutual involvement and responsibility.

1.4 Methodology

The Norwegian tradition of having small-scale district prisons with different security levels means that the country already has prisons holding several of the principles RESCALED is suggesting for the future of detention. This report is a result of digital meetings and visits to these facilities over the course of a year.

For the purpose of this report, all Norwegian prisons were mapped according to the three principles. Prisons holding one or more of the principles were in turn contacted, and meetings and visits were scheduled and conducted. The nature of the interaction varied, due to the Covid-19 pandemic and shifting restrictions. The majority of the prisons in this report have been visited (9), while with others, only a digital meeting was possible (2). During the meetings, the concept of RESCALED was presented. Following the presentation, the staff were asked to what extent the practice in their respective prisons corresponded to the three principles. They were also asked about their thoughts on the impact of prison size, tailor-made approaches, security level, prison architecture, as well as the activities offered in their prison.

A total of 11 prisons are included in the report. This does not include all prisons identified as holding one or more of the principles, however, only a selection¹³. All prisons described are for men and located in region South, region West or region East.

The prisons are presented in order according to their security level, from the highest to the lowest level of security. Each prison has been assessed with regard to how they meet the three principles of RESCALED and each subchapter is structured accordingly.

¹¹ See e.g. Johnsen et al. (2001)

¹² See Auty and Liebling (2020)

¹³ See notes and explanations on 'representativeness' (appendix).

It is, however, important to note that all prisons discussed in this paper are old, and were built in another time for another purpose. None were built for the purpose of being a detention facility fit for the 21 century, corresponding to the current ideology. Many of them have been labelled by the government and other stakeholders as unfit for a modern Correctional Service, and in need of a replacement.

Yet, experience and research on Norwegian prisons imply that incarcerated people and staff have a better quality of life in these old and small-scale prisons, despite the fact that the large-scale prisons often are more modern and offer a wider range of activities. It is therefore important to look into how and why these facilities work, in order to gain a deeper understanding of the impact of the various components of the prison institution. By looking at them separately and collectively, one may be able to assess which features and practices that can and should be applied to future detention facilities, and which ones should not.

At the same time, the paper can serve as inspiration as to how new detention houses can be designed, run and organised. All prisons described in the report are differentiated and exhibit unique features, which could be applied when designing detention houses of the 21st century.

2.0 High-security prisons

Almost 70 percent of the Norwegian prison population serve their sentence in a high-security prison. The prisons themselves differ in size and architecture. Some people serve their sentences in historic and protected prisons built in the 1860s, others in modern facilities relying heavily on correctional technologies. However, the prisons have extensive security measures in common, such as barriers around the prison area, locked doors and confined spaces. The prison officers are usually uniformed throughout the day. When the residents are not at work, school or participating in leisure activities, supervised by the staff, they must remain in their cells. In Norway, the main rule is that a convicted person starts their sentence in a high-security prison. The recidivism rate after two years for people released from such prisons is about 31 percent.¹⁴ The average expenses per person in a high-security prison was 1.2 million NOK in 2020, compared to about 715.000 NOK in lower-security prisons.¹⁵

2.1 Ålesund fengsel

Introduction

Ålesund fengsel (from now on "Ålesund prison") is a high-security prison for men. It was opened in 1864 and is located at the heart of Ålesund city. Ålesund is one of the 1860s prisons, originally built for the purpose of solitary confinement.

Prison size

Ålesund prison has 27 beds and is a small-scale prison in a Norwegian context.



Photo: GangerRolf / Wikimedia Commons

Differentiation

Security level:

Ålesund prison is a high-security prison and has strict entering and leaving policies. There are yet no walls or fences surrounding the prison. While some of the 1860s prisons got new fences and an outside yard after the ideology of punishment changed, Ålesund's location in the middle of the city and status as protected limits the opportunities for expansion and renovation.

RESCALED-principles in practice:

- ☒ Small scale
- ☐ Differentiated
- ☐ Community-integrated

The front door is locked at all times, except when people are entering or leaving. The prison yard is located in the back of the prison, where the surrounding buildings function as a wall around the yard. There are several static security measures, such as CCTV, metal detectors, bars and locked doors. However, Ålesund relies more on dynamic security than several other prisons due to its size and architecture.

¹⁴ See the Norwegian Correctional Service (2021), page 22

¹⁵ See the Norwegian Correctional Service (2021), page 8

Target group:

Ålesund prison accepts people imprisoned for all categories of offences. As it is a high-security prison, the detained people mainly have longer sentences and/or are imprisoned for relatively severe crimes. Residents with particularly challenging behaviour are, however, transferred to other prisons.¹⁶

Despite being a relatively big city, Ålesund only has one small prison with a high security level. The nearest lower-security prison, Hustad prison¹⁷, is located a two-hour drive away from the city. As a consequence, some people might stay in Ålesund prison even though they could serve their remaining sentence in a lower-security prison. For example, if they want to live close to their family and friends in Ålesund.

Activities:

Ålesund prison has its own school department, which is run in collaboration with Borgund upper secondary school.¹⁸ The school offers teaching in various subjects, such as English, Norwegian and tourism. They also sign certificates when the residents have acquired work experience in the workshops. In addition, Ålesund offers several other courses, sometimes at the request of the current population.

The prison collaborates with the business community in Ålesund and the surrounding area, which orders materials and products from the prison workshops. The carpentry workshop and mechanical workshop make up the largest part of the work operation in Ålesund prison. The residents receive training in technical and industrial production, woodworking, welding, surface treatment and assembling. The training results in a number of quality products. Among the larger products that are produced are impregnated picnic benches, dining tables and coffee tables. Smaller products include drink coasters, 'Sunnmørsfjola'¹⁹ and wood stacks. These products are sold on the website of the prison, and also at www.prisonmade.no, which is the national page for all products made in Norwegian prisons. The prison also produces wine boxes for a Norwegian wine company based in Piemonte, Italy, and gift boxes in wood for a distillery.



The courtyard of Ålesund prison. The graffiti are made by a resident. Photo: Ålesund prison

Adapting to the circumstances: Ålesund prison have their own 3D printer, which has been used to produce visors during the Covid-19 pandemic.



Coasters hand-made by people incarcerated in Ålesund. Photo: Ålesund prison

¹⁶ In a paper written by Baldursson in 2000, the author noted that the general rule in Iceland is that 'difficult' residents are transferred to small-scale prisons. He argued that this had been successful as serious problems rarely occurred in small-scale prisons, mainly because of the positive staff-resident relationships that are found in these facilities. Contrary to this observation, staff in several of the prisons presented in this report noted that 'demanding' residents were transferred to larger-prisons, because small prisons did not have the staff and resources to meet the needs of these residents. At the time when the paper of Baldursson was written, Iceland had four small prisons with 9-16 beds and one larger prison with 87 beds. The prisons in this report, where the staff mentioned this issue, had between 27 and 60 beds. At the same time, the staff in several of the small-scale prisons stated that they often accepted incarcerated people who struggled to function in large-scale prisons. For example, because of negative influence by other detainees, minor disabilities or mental health challenges. Thus, it seemed as though the small scale facilities were perceived as a good solution for people in need of comprehensive support, however, did not have the resources to handle residents with repetitive violent behaviour or severe mental health issues.

¹⁷ See 3.2 Hustad fengsel.

¹⁸ All Norwegian prisons collaborate with the local upper-secondary school with regard to education. See notes and explanations on the 'import model' for further explanation (appendix).

¹⁹ Local product (chopping board): <https://alesundfengsel.no/produkt/sunnmorsfjola/>

Although the majority of the people detained in Ålesund work at the carpentry workshop or at the mechanical workshop, others do cleaning work, laundry and food distribution.

Ålesund also has a special focus on a healthy diet and lifestyle. Evening activities include workouts in the gym and yoga. The yoga sessions are held by 'Gangsteryoga', an NGO teaching yoga in Norwegian prisons. Among the instructors are people who have previously been incarcerated.

Community-integration

Location and architecture:

Ålesund prison is located in the city of Ålesund, the 9th biggest city in Norway. The city has about 52,900 inhabitants, and is known for its big and export-oriented business community.

The prison is located at the heart of the city, in a yellow building. The city of Ålesund is made up of many old buildings similar to the prison, and Ålesund prison hence blends in with the local architecture. As there are no walls or fences, Ålesund does not look like a prison from the outside.

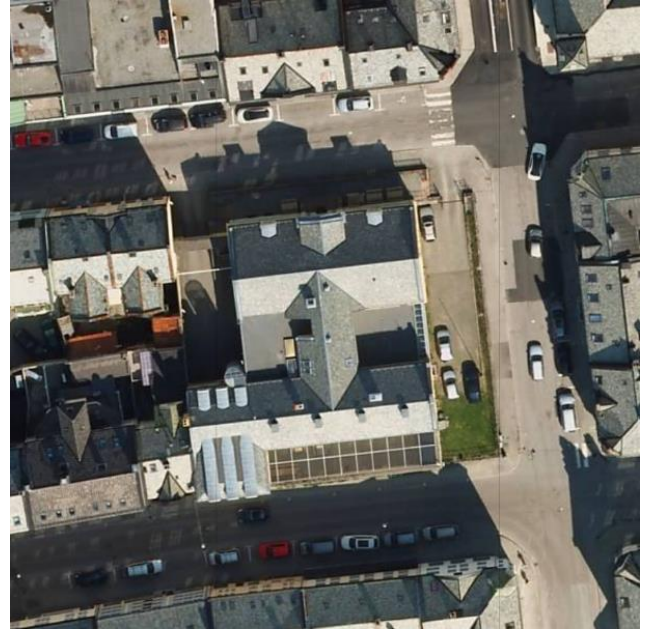
Ålesund is one of the 1860s prisons, and originally consisted of cells, a courthouse and living space for the prison governor. The courthouse is now renovated, and used as a meeting room and entry hall. The house has three floors. In the basement, one will find the prison workshops and laundry room. On the ground floor, one will find the cells as well as a gym, a room for visits and the health department. On the second floor, one will find a large common room, which is used for e.g. meals and sessions with the priest. Except for this room, there is limited space for interaction, as the prison was originally built for solitary confinement.

The building is protected, which leaves limited room for renovation. Its location in the heart of the city surrounded by other protected buildings also limits the opportunities for expansion. The staff and residents, however, have been very creative with the space. Every little corner of Ålesund is taken advantage of to the fullest, even in the basement. Yet, politicians, internal staff and the prison administration have argued that the prison is in need of a replacement. The arguments have been that the interior is in a bad condition and that the infrastructure does not meet the standards of a modern correctional service.

Ålesund was built during a time when they had a completely different view on crime and rehabilitation, and the staff at Ålesund have been concerned with preserving the prison's history. This is reflected in the interior, where e.g. tools used by the guards in the 1860s are displayed on the walls.

Interaction with the community

Ålesund is a high-security prison and despite its location in the middle of the city, the residents do not interact much with the local community. However, they do produce goods that are sold to the locals. Their most popular items have been handmade benches, where the demand has been higher than the supply. These can be found all over the town, in public and private spaces.



Aerial photo of Ålesund prison, centre. Photo: Gule sider

Ålesund fengsel

Built: 1864 / 1907

Capacity: 27 males

Security level: High

Nearest city/town: Ålesund

Nature of interaction: Visit

Publicity/read more:

- About Ålesund prison at the official website of the Norwegian Correctional Service:
<https://www.kriminalomsorgen.no/aalesund-fengsel.5056879-237612.html>
- Prisonmade Ålesund: <https://alesundfengsel.no/prisonmade/>
- About Gangsteryoga: <https://www.backinthering.no/gangsteryoga>

2.2 Søndre Vestfold fengsel, Larvik avdeling

Introduction

Søndre Vestfold fengsel, Larvik avdeling ("Southern Vestfold prison, Larvik department", from now on "Larvik prison") is a high-security prison for men. It was opened in 1862, and is located in the city of Larvik. Larvik prison is specialised on imprisoned youth between 18 and 25, and is the only Norwegian prison housing this target group only.



Photo: Therese Eskelund / Østlands-Posten

Prison size

Larvik can house up to 16 people and is a small-scale prison in a Norwegian context.

Differentiation

Security level:

Larvik is a high-security prison, and the security measures are in line with legislative requirements. A stay at Larvik might, however, feel less restrictive due to the size of the prison population, the tight relations between the staff and the residents, as well as its focus on dynamic security rather than static measures.

Although Larvik formally is a high-security prison, the rules and security measures are still stretched to allow for an adapted approach to the young target group. The officers are not required to wear a uniform, and the youth are entrusted more independence within the prison walls. The staff at Larvik emphasize a logical set of prison rules to reduce the friction between the officers and the youth. The officers also make sure to communicate to the youths why these rules are in place as a way of reducing friction and frustration.

Furthermore, Larvik relies on a system of rewarding good behaviour, rather than sanctioning misbehaviour. The young people may for instance join an officer outside the prison for various activities, as a reward for behaving well. If they do not comply with the rules, they are not rewarded. This encourages positive behaviour while simultaneously reducing the use of negative sanctions common in other high-security prisons, such as cancelling visits or retraction of leave permits. Such practice is another example of a way of reducing friction.

Target group:

The target group of Larvik is young people between 18 and 25. They accept people who have received sentences up to a

RESCALED-principles in practice:

- ☒ Small scale
- ☒ Differentiated
- ☒ Community-integrated

A small-scale environment: In recent years, there has been an increase in the number of people imprisoned for sexual offences. While this has often led to dispute and violent incidents in regular prisons, the staff at Larvik argued that they were often able to prevent such incidents due to the prison size.

maximum of 10 years. Yet, the residents are only allowed to stay for two years, mainly due to the small size. Residents who turn 25 will also be transferred to other prisons.

Larvik offers a tailor-made programme for young people, and has many years of experience with the target group. The aim is to give the youths a chance to turn their life around at an early stage and to prevent recruitment to more severe crime, which can often happen in large-scale prisons.

In the last few years, however, Larvik has experienced a change in their population. The youths are more often traumatised, have mental health issues, personality disorders, diagnoses such as ADHD, autism and Asperger, and are imprisoned for more severe crime (e.g. violence). This change may be linked to the changes in the prison population in general²⁰. However, due to the prison size, the staff argue that they have been able to adapt and offer a tailor-made approach to each of the youths.

Larvik prison is the only Norwegian prison focusing on the target group of young people from 18 to 25 specifically. In addition to Larvik, a unit for young people opened in Eidsberg prison²¹ in 2019, housing 25 to 40 people aged between 18 and 25. However, this unit is incorporated in a larger prison with the challenges that pose (e.g. negative influence by older residents, recruitment to organised crime, and less consistency in staff, culture and working methods).

Activities:

The majority of the youths at Larvik go to school during the day. The prison has its own school department, in cooperation with Færder upper-secondary school.

Besides school, the youth participate in a wide range of other activities. For example, anger management classes, stress management classes, mindfulness, courses in economy, and various forms of therapy. They also have morning meetings, weekly gatherings, individual conversations and program-based groups. Physical activities include workouts, volleyball matches and boardgames.

Community-integration

Location and architecture:

Larvik prison is located in the municipality of Larvik, which has about 47,500 inhabitants. It is a coastal municipality, with large agricultural areas, forests and mountains. Larvik is also the name of the city the prison is located in, which is relatively small with about 26,700 inhabitants.

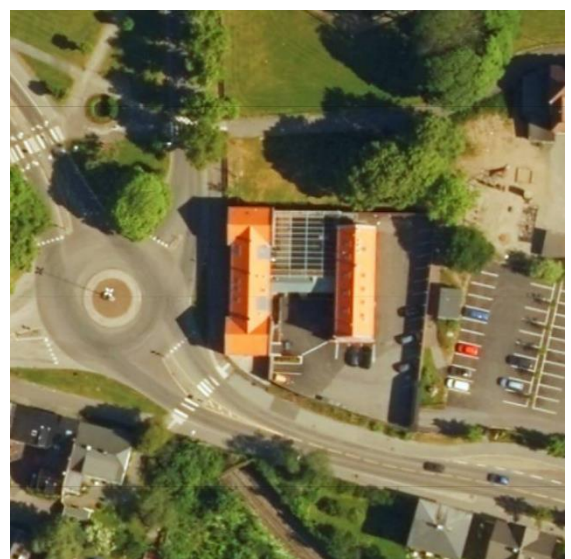
The prison is located in the city centre, and is easily accessible by train or car. In the surrounding area, one will find several shops and services, a campsite and a harbour.

"What facilitates change? To merely sit in a prison does not. The relationships we are able to form with the people detained here are worth its weight in gold. We have worked with youths for many years, and continuously aim to create a safe and secure environment."

Hanne Guldberg, prison inspector at Larvik



Volleyball court in Larvik prison. Photo: Therese Eskelund / Østlands-Posten



Aerial photo of Larvik and surrounding area. Photo: Gule sider

²⁰ See "Notes and explanations" for further elaboration (appendix)

²¹ Eidsberg prison is a large-scale prison in a Norwegian context and has a capacity of 102 beds.

Larvik was one of the first prisons that opened in Norway, and is also one of the 1860s prisons. This is reflected in the design and architecture²².

Interaction with the community

The residents at Larvik have various forms of contact with the local community. As mentioned above, the residents are frequently allowed outside of the prison gates for different activities. Some are, for instance, working out at a nearby fitness centre.

Other examples of activities outside the prison include jogging in the nearby Bøkeskogen, the northernmost beech tree forest in the world, which has several kilometres of popular hiking trails. During the summer, the prison arranges trips to the beach.

Larvik also cooperates with the local community through going to sports events or participation in 'dugnader' (voluntary work in the community). For example, youth from Larvik helped out with building an outdoor stage for a local theatre group. In return, they were given tickets to the premiere.

Søndre Vestfold fengsel,

Larvik avdeling

Built: 1862

Capacity: 15 males (18-25 years)

Security level: High

Nearest city/town: Larvik

Nature of interaction: Meeting

Publicity/read more:

- About Larvik prison at the official website of the Norwegian Correctional Service <https://www.kriminalomsorgen.no/soendre-vestfold-fengsel-larvik-avdeling.5027969-237612.html>
- Newspaper article 'see the inside of Larvik prison': <https://www.op.no/bli-med-inn-i-larvik-fengsel-jeg-er-heldig-som-far-sone-her/f/5-36-747330>

²² See "Notes and explanations" for more information on the 1860s prisons (appendix)

3.0 Prisons with both high and lower-security

Some prisons are divided into sections with different levels of security. The prisons described in this chapter of the paper have one high-security section and one lower-security section. Although the sections are separate, they still form part of the same management and prison environment. As Norwegian legislation requires the majority of incarcerated people to start their sentence in a high-security prison, these prisons allow for a gradual progression in the same prison environment throughout the sentence. For some, this may be preferable over a transfer between entirely different prisons, staff and cultures. This accounts especially for people with friends and family nearby. The security measures of each section are in line with legislative requirements.²³ The average expenses per bed in prisons with both high and lower-security were about 1.1 million NOK in 2020²⁴. These numbers are, however, not representative, as the prisons vary significantly in size and security measures. In turn, this affects the costs.

3.1 Vik fengsel

Introduction

Vik fengsel (from now on “Vik prison”) is a prison for men and was built in 1864. It was one of the first Norwegian cell prisons, and had no fences nor guards when it first opened. Now, it houses people imprisoned for all types of crimes. The prison is a well-integrated part of the village and interacts with the local community on a daily basis.



Photo: Skjalg Ekeland / BA

Prison size

Vik prison has 28 beds on high-security and 11 beds on lower-security and is a small to medium sized prison in a Norwegian context.

Differentiation

Security level:

Some prisons with both high and lower security levels have the lower-security part located outside the gates of the high-security prison. At Vik, however, the fences surround the entire prison area. These fences are four metres high, with an equal height around the whole prison²⁵. The residents on both security levels may therefore use many of the same common areas, such as the prison yard and the workshops. In combination with the prison size, this makes the prison feel less restrictive than a traditional high-security prison.

RESCALED-principles in practice:

- ☑ Small scale
- ☑ Differentiated
- ☑ Community-integrated

²³ See 2.0 for security measures on high-security; 4.0 for security measures on lower-security.

²⁴ See the Norwegian Correctional Service (2021), page 8

²⁵ In comparison, the newest prisons in Norway have walls that are six metres high in addition to an outer barbed wire fence.

The living unit on lower-security is yet way less restrictive than the one on high-security, with open doors and the opportunity to move around freely. The people staying in the lower-security section also get to leave the prison daily.

Target group:

Vik accepts people imprisoned for all categories of offences. As they have both a high-security section and a lower-security section, it houses people imprisoned for both minor offences and more serious crimes. However, due to low staffing (because of their size), people who require extra resources are transferred to other prisons.

Recently, Vik has experienced a change in its population²⁶. It used to be known for being a prison for drunk drivers. Now, they have seen an increase in people imprisoned for sexual offences and violent offences.

Activities:

For education, Vik cooperates with Sogndal upper secondary school. In terms of work, Vik has a carpentry workshop, a mechanical workshop and they produce wood. The prison also cooperates with local businesses for work training.

In addition, Vik offers various courses, such as forklift courses, chainsaw courses and welding courses. The current population may ask the prison staff to arrange additional classes, for example, in learning how to build a guitar.

In the evening, the people on lower-security go on trips outside of the prison along with an ununiformed officer. This happens almost daily, and the trips include e.g. activity days, hikes in the mountains and bicycle trips. The people on high-security occasionally come along on these trips. In such cases, more employees come along, including officers, staff from the prison workshops, or the leisure time coordinator, depending on the availability of staff. At times, Vik prison even bring people on remand (depending on the risk assessment), which is relatively unusual in a Norwegian context.²⁷ The reason is that the staff get to know the residents well, due to the small-scale. As such, the threshold to trust them with this privilege is lower.

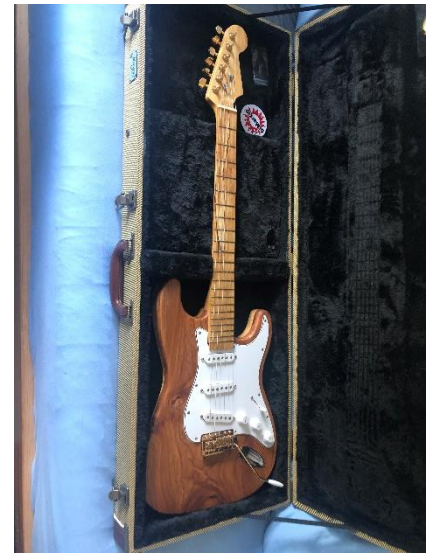
Other activities inside the prison include workouts at the gym, playing football, volleyball and basket in the prison yard, and spinning classes.

Community-integration:

Location and architecture:

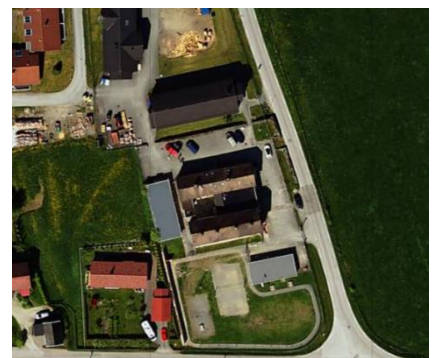
Vik prison is located in the municipality of Vik, and is surrounded by high mountains and beautiful nature.

Vik is a small municipality, with about 2,700 inhabitants. The locals refer to Vik as a five-minute society, meaning that it takes about five minutes to get to all



The residents at Vik are making both guitars and fiddles. Photo: Private

Attempted escapes: Vik is surrounded by high mountains, which makes it difficult to escape. Despite several attempts, none of the escapes from Vik have been successful. Escapees have even willingly returned to the prison because they 'gave up'.



Aerial photo of Vik, centre, with surrounding area. Photo: Gule sider

²⁶ This can be explained by changes in the prison population in general. See notes and explanations on 'changes in the prison population' (appendix).

²⁷ The police are in charge of people on remand and rarely have the capacity to take them out of prison, unless there is an emergency.

necessary services. This accounts for the prison as well, which actively use the local service providers such as the dentist or the medical centre.

The prison is located in the centre of a small town, right next to regular houses, a nursing home, a care home and a primary school. The locals describe the prison as a natural part of their community, which 'has always been there'.

Vik is also one of the 56 prisons that opened in the 1860s. When it first opened, it only consisted of one house with 12 beds. The government considered closing it down from the 1980s onwards, as it did not meet the standards of a modern correctional service. However, after strong efforts from the locals, the government decided to renovate and expand it in 2007. A new building for school and work training was built around the same time. The prison has no walls, but got a new four-metre-high fence in 2020 after several attempted escapes between 2010 and 2013. These fences are painted in green, which makes them blend in with the surrounding nature and creates a less restrictive feeling.



The prison yard was recently renovated. Photo: Private

The prison yard was renovated in 2021. This has been a collaboration between the residents and the prison staff, initiated by the prison governor. The incarcerated people have been involved and engaged during the whole process, from planning to implementation. Each individual staff member and resident have used their different skills to contribute to the renovation. Those working at the carpentry workshop have made benches, tables, outdoor planters, and birdhouses. Those employed at the mechanical workshop installed exercise equipment. An artistic person made decorations on the walls. Others made a vegetable garden, which the residents and employees are maintaining together.

Interaction with the community

Vik is an integrated part of the community, and interacts with life outside of prison almost daily. The residents go on trips and engage in activities at the same places as the rest of the community, in parks, the mountains and at the activity centre. They also go on fishing trips, hikes, skiing, and play football outside of the prison²⁸.

In addition, Vik has a workshop where the community can get their items repaired. For example, they have been renovating old rocking chairs, boats and guitars. Locals may contact the prison administration themselves, to request a repair. The residents renovate the items together with the workshop officer, but are not involved in the sales and transaction processes.

Vik fengsel

Built: 1864 / 2007

Capacity: 39 males

Security level: Both low and high

Nearest city/town: Vik

Nature of interaction: Visit

Publicity/read more:

- About Vik prison at the official website of the Norwegian Correctional Service: <https://www.kriminalomsorgen.no/vik-fengsel.5041683-237612.html>
- Residents and staff at Vik about the meaning of prison size: <https://frifagbevegelse.no/aktuell/innsatt--vik-fengsel-er-det-beste-fengselet-6.158.315817.c6a639c810>
- Residents and staff at Vik worked side by side to improve the prison yard: <https://researchcommunity.rescaled.org/2021/10/25/the-yard-how-small-scale-detention-works-and-why-this-knowledge-is-important/>

²⁸ As mentioned above, this mainly accounts for the residents on lower security.

3.2 Hustad fengsel

Introduction

Hustad fengsel (from now on "Hustad prison") is a prison for men and was opened in 2005. It is especially known for the production and marketing of a wide range of quality products.

They produce everything from cat houses to designer ceramics. These products are mainly sold to the public through online platforms, and to local service providers, such as the local kindergarten.



Photo: Hustad prison

Prison size

Hustad prison has a total capacity of 60 beds and is a medium sized prison in a Norwegian context. It has two sections, with 28 beds on lower-security and 32 beds on high-security.

Differentiation

Security level:

Hustad prison does not have walls. However, on high-security, there are fences, CCTV and other security measures in line with the legislative requirements.

The lower-security unit and the high-security unit are separated, with the lower-security part being located outside of the high-security part. The lower-security part has no fences and fewer physical security measures.

The people on lower-security can walk freely around the prison area, but need to meet at the staff office for a headcount five times a day. This is common practice in lower-security prisons. The doors are open during the day, while the front door is locked during night-time.

Target group:

Hustad generally accepts people who are convicted of all types of offences. However, people requiring additional resources are transferred to other prisons.

Hustad also has a drug-rehabilitation unit, which opened in 2012. The unit is located inside the high-security prison, and offers treatment for people who struggle with drug addiction. One needs to be motivated to get accepted to the unit, which offers one-to-one guidance, group sessions and sessions with a psychologist. There are 13 of these units inside Norwegian prisons.

RESCALED-principles in practice:

- ☐ Small scale
- ☒ Differentiated
- ☒ Community-integrated

A homely environment: The residents and staff of Hustad prison have recently been working side by side to renovate and improve the prison. The walls have been painted in homelier colours and the rooms have been decorated with art, flowers, and handmade furniture.

Activities:

Hustad prison has three workshops and a kitchen. In the carpentry workshop, the residents produce both small and larger items and may also assist with the redesigning and renovation of old furniture. The car repair shop is certified as a training academy, and may repair cars for the public. In the third workshop, they make smaller items with soft and hard materials, such as glasses, ceramics, leather and textiles. At the ceramics department, they produce e.g. a series of coffee and espresso cups designed by Odd Standard, a Norwegian designer of restaurant tableware. This series is a part of the Straffekaffe ('punishment coffee') concept of Bjørgvin prison.²⁹ In the kitchen, homemade food is cooked for the whole prison. In addition, they make bread, crispbread, homemade muesli and energy bars.



Some of the products hand-made by people incarcerated at Hustad. Photo: Hustad prison

To be able to make such a wide range of products, Hustad has its own employee working with the design, production, marketing and selling of the items made in the prison.

The prison also has its own school department, which is run in cooperation with Romsdal upper secondary school. Here, they offer teaching in e.g. English, Norwegian, maths, natural sciences, social sciences, physical education, finance, information and communication technology and music. They also assist people who want to apply for higher education. Courses are held regularly, e.g. in first aid, Excel, Photoshop, InDesign and Illustrator. These courses are conducted by external course providers, which have a permanent contract with the school department.

Hustad is referred to as a 'nature prison' and every week, they arrange hikes in the amazing nature surrounding the prison. Occasionally, they do a clearing of the nearby coastal paths. Much of what is found on the shore and along the fjord is recycled into new products in the prison workshops. Additionally, they make new products out of excess raw materials, which they often receive from local shops and workshops (e.g. pieces of wood from carpentry workshops or textile samples from local interior design shops).

Other activities available in the prison include basketball, volleyball, workouts in the gym, snooker, table tennis and a library. They also have a greenhouse, a chicken house, an outdoor gym, and a dog hotel for the dogs of the staff members.

Community-integration:

Location and architecture:

Hustad prison is located in the municipality of Hustadvika. By 2021, the municipality had about 13,300 inhabitants, and their two most important industries are agriculture and fishing. Hustadvika is known for its beautiful nature and is a popular destination among tourists. The prison is surrounded by high mountains and an idyllic landscape.

Hustad was originally built as a camp for military deniers and has functioned as such since 1950. In 2005, it was renovated and



Aerial photo of Hustad and its premises. Photo: Gule sider

²⁹ See 3.3. Bjørgvin fengsel.

opened as a prison. Hustad originally had 54 beds, but the high-security section was expanded in 2012 in conjunction with the opening of the new drug-rehabilitation unit.

Interaction with the community

Hustad prison is relatively visible to the public, especially through the products they produce. For example, they deliver products to several local services and businesses, such as the kindergarten and the camping site. Every year, they attend several markets with a pop-up shop. For example, they attend Molde jazz festival during the summer, and Molde Christmas Market during the winter. At times, they make other types of contributions to local events. For example, 500 'peace signs' were produced by the residents this year, which will be used in a jewel workshop at a children's festival. They also have their products sold in a shop in the centre of Elnesvågen and are continuously looking into new and alternative ways to market and sell their items.

They are also visible and active on Instagram and Facebook, through the brand 'Prisonmade Hustad'. Here, the public can get a glimpse of everyday life in Hustad, their products, as well as activities conducted inside and outside of the prison.

In addition to the products, they have arranged open days in the prison, where the community can come visit to learn about life inside of the prison walls. Recently, they cooperated with the local theatre, where the theatre group and a group of residents made a podcast together. In turn, the theatre held a show for the residents on both high and lower-security.

The more active and transparent Hustad are in the local community, in form of publicity, participation and visibility, the more trust they experience (according to the staff). The more local projects they get involved in, the more people contact them for mutual exchange of services and support.

Hustad fengsel

Built: 1950

Capacity: 60 males

Security level: Both low and high

Nearest city/town: Hustad /
Molde

Nature of interaction: Meeting

Publicity/read more:

- About Hustad prison at the official website of the Norwegian Correctional Service: <https://www.kriminalomsorgen.no/hustad-fengsel.5044947-237612.html>
- Website of Hustad prison: <https://www.prisonmadehustad.no/>
- Hustad on Prisonmade: <https://www.prisonmade.no/fengsler/hustad-fengsel>
- Hustad on Instagram: @prisonmadehustad
- Website of Odd Standard: <http://www.oddstandard.no/>

4.0 Lower-security prisons

Prisons with a lower-security level are characterised by the absence of the strict security measures found in high-security prisons. The residents are given more autonomy and independence within the prison. The doors and gates in a lower-security prison are locked at night and open otherwise, although leaving the prison is not allowed. The residents are more frequently allowed to visit friends and family on temporary release, and they are free to roam the prison area. The officers tend to wear a uniform inside the prison, but are most often ununiformed during activities outside of the prison. The recidivism rate after two years for people released from a lower-security prison is about 13 percent, compared to 31 for high-security.³⁰ The average expenses per bed was about 715.000 NOK in 2020, compared to about 1.2 million NOK in high-security prisons.³¹ There is more room for local adjustments in lower-security prisons with regard to security measures, activities and freedom of movement. Consequently, the recidivism rate and expenses may vary between prisons.

4.1 Kriminalomsorgen Innlandet, avdeling lavere sikkerhet, Valdres

Introduction

Kriminalomsorgen Innlandet, avdeling lavere sikkerhet, Valdres ("Norwegian Correctional Service Innlandet, department lower-security, Valdres", from now on 'Valdres prison") is a lower-security prison for men. It was opened in 1985, and is located on a small island in a relatively small village.

The establishment was initiated by a politician called Åge Hovengen, who wanted to make a smaller version of Bastøy. As opposed to Bastøy, however, you can drive to the prison by car. Only the residents of the prison and a family of farmers live on the island.



Photo: Norwegian Correctional Service / Flickr

The target group of Valdres is people with five months to two years left of their sentence, but they also allow shorter or longer sentences. Valdres has a special focus on the process of reintegration and works actively to prepare the residents for release.

Prison size

Valdres is a small-scale prison according to Norwegian standards, and may house up to 25 people.

RESCALED-principles in practice:

- ☒ Small scale
- ☒ Differentiated
- ☒ Community-integrated

³⁰ See the Norwegian Correctional Service (2021), page 22

³¹ See the Norwegian Correctional Service (2021), page 8

Differentiation

Security level:

Since Valdres is a lower-security prison, there are few security measures. While some lower-security prisons have a low fence to prevent bypassers from entering the prison area, this is not needed at Valdres, as its location on an island works as a natural barrier between the prison and the local community. Dynamic security is key at Valdres, and the staff frequently receive training in dynamic security and prison culture as a way of preventing unwanted incidents. This is especially important when new staff arrive at the prison.

Target group:

Valdres prison accepts people imprisoned for all types of offences. About 20 per cent are imprisoned for sexual offences, about 20 per cent for violent offences, about 20 per cent for fraud, about 20 per cent for drug-related crimes, about 10 per cent for financial crimes and about 10 per cent for murder. Two out of three start their sentence at Valdres. This accounts for people with short sentences. One out of three are transferred from other prisons, to serve their remaining sentence at Valdres. The population is aged between 18 and 80. The length of their sentences is between 5 months and 13 years, while the average length per 2021 was 3 years.

The target group of Valdres prison is yet people who are getting close to the end of their sentence as well as people with minor disabilities or mental health issues, who find it challenging to function in larger groups and/or are in need of close follow up. They have a high focus on rehabilitation, individually tailored treatment and reintegration, and therefore mainly accept people who are in need of comprehensive support in the reintegration process. For example, those who do not have a home, job and support system to return to.

When the prison first opened, it used to house people imprisoned for minor crimes, such as traffic offences. However, due to changes in the prison population, Valdres now house more people with longer sentences and/or who are imprisoned for more severe crimes³².

Activities:

Valdres has a great focus on tailor-made approaches. They try to meet the needs and wishes of the individual person to the extent that is possible. Activities therefore vary depending on the current population as well as their needs.

At Valdres, the staff and the incarcerated person start working together towards release from day one. They also have a reintegration officer (not all prisons have this), focusing on ensuring safe and 'seamless' reintegration. At the prison, they conduct weekly meetings with the whole support system (health, benefits, school, social workers, prison governor etc.) where they discuss the reintegration path of each of the residents. They have an ambition that everyone who

Slidreøyas venner: Valdres prison has its own friends' association called Slidreøyas venner ('friends of the island Slidre'). The association is unique in a Norwegian context and was started by the politician who initiated the establishment, Åge Hovengen. It is still active, and they e.g. apply for funding for new buildings and arrange reintegration activities.



In addition to the market in the city-centre, Valdres sell their products at self-service sales stalls called 'the market of honesty', which can be found in several locations around the village. Photo: Valdres prison

³² This was only mentioned by the staff when questioned about NIMBY resistance. They thought that the community was unaware of the change, and that this was one of several reasons why there were no complaints from the locals. It did not seem like the staff had experienced much issues in conjunction with the changed population. See notes and explanation for further elaboration on changes in the prison population (appendix).

leaves the prison shall have a place to live, a job/somewhere to study, and someone to call/an appointment upon release. This goal is allegedly reached with next to all residents released from Valdres.

Workplaces inside the prison include a carpentry workshop, a mechanical workshop, a laundry room, a garden and a kitchen, which is typical for Norwegian prisons.

Some of the residents work outside the prison and therefore leave the prison daily. For example, they go to work in the market downtown.

The prison also occasionally arranges activities/trips outside of the prison (e.g. a yearly pilgrimage). However, that has happened less during the covid-19 pandemic. The residents can apply to leave the prison for other reasons, for example, to meet their family in a different environment or go clothes shopping.



The cabins for the residents are seen in the background. Photo: Private

Evening activities include going to the gym, playing music, going to the library, going for trips outside the prison, depending on the day and availability of staff. Other activities include weekly shopping in the local grocery store, skiing, canoeing, volleyball and table tennis.

Valdres also offers occasional courses, for example, forklift courses, machine operator courses, first aid courses and courses in finances and debts. In addition, they use the competence of the prison staff and locals to provide other types of training, for example, fishing classes.

Furthermore, the employees and people imprisoned at Valdres have developed their own course (in cooperation with i.a. Wayback) called 'Tenk ut' reflection groups, which has received national and international attention. The main tool used during these sessions is 'reflection cards' (photographs taken by people in detention), which are used to reflect on one's own life and experiences. The user perspective is key in this course, meaning that one person with lived experience leads the session together with one employee.

Community-integration

Location and architecture:

Valdres prison is located in idyllic landscapes in the municipality of Vestre Slidre. Vestre Slidre is a small municipality, with only 2,200 inhabitants. It has a small city centre and is an area with quite a lot of tourism.

The prison is located on a small island, which one can drive to. The island is owned by a farmer, who lives right next to the prison together with his family. The Norwegian Correctional Service rents the prison area and buildings from him. The buildings mirror the local architecture, and the prison hence blends in with the local community. It consists of wooden buildings painted in red and black, similar to the nearby houses. If unaware, it is unlikely that bystanders would guess that Valdres is a prison.



The architecture and surroundings of Valdres does not remind much of a traditional prison. Shown is a lavvu, a dwelling traditionally used by the indigenous Sami people, available for the residents at Valdres. Inside is a sitting area and a fireplace. The reflection groups are occasionally conducted here. Photo: Private

Valdres prison previously used to be a campsite. This is reflected in the architecture, which consists of main houses and small cabins. Inside the main houses, one will find an administration, rooms for visits from family and friends, meeting rooms, a library, the school and a kitchen with a canteen. The residents live in small cabins, some in shared rooms and some in single rooms. The (informal) rule is that upon arrival, one starts living in a shared room, while after a while, one can 'progress' into a single room. The residents have built and designed parts of the remaining buildings themselves, for example, the art inside the workshop and a small cabin called 'hope', used for conversations/sessions with the priest.

Interaction with the community

Valdres runs a market in the centre of the city, which is usually open every Friday, August to October. Here, the residents sell the goods they have produced inside the prison. Their garlic (Russian garlic which can survive in a cold climate) and Valdresrosa (local decorative item to be put up on barns) have been their most popular items. People have been coming from all over the country to buy the garlic and almost all local barns have one of the decorative items.

At times, they arrange dinners at a long table next to their sales stall in the marketplace, where everyone from the local community are able to participate for free. They also do catering for local weddings, confirmations³³ and baptisms. During the summer, they received a request from the municipality to run a café at the town hall. During Christmas, the oldest kids aged 5-6 in the local kindergarten wrapped and gave away toys to the fathers in the prison. As such, the children who come to visit their dad have something to play with. The aim of this initiative is to teach the children in the village about care and compassion for people in a different life situation. When picking up the gifts, the children get to ask the questions they have about life in prison. In return, the residents at Valdres have made self-produced items for the kindergarten (e.g. birdhouses).

Some of the residents at Valdres participate in voluntary work at 'Stabburshella', which is a local meeting place. It is open to everyone, but has a special focus on user involvement and reaching out to people with mental health or drug related challenges. According to the staff and people imprisoned at Valdres, these kinds of interactions contribute to a more inclusive and accepting local community.



The main area of the prison is located in the centre of the island. Photo: Gule sider

**Kriminalomsorgen Innlandet,
avdeling lavere sikkerhet,
Valdres**

Built: 1985

Capacity: 25 males

Security level: Low

Nearest city/town: Valdres

Publicity/read more:

- About Valdres prison at the official website of the Norwegian Correctional Service: <https://www.kriminalomsorgen.no/innlandet-kriminalomsorgen-innlandet-avd-lavere-sikkerhet-valdres.5024039-237612.html>
- Official Facebook-page: <https://www.facebook.com/Fengselet-i-Valdres-p%C3%A5-Slidle%C3%B8ya-354411454740358/>
- About the products produced in the prison: <https://www.prisonmade.no/fengsler/valdres-fengsel>
- About the garlic production: <https://www.datsja.no/blogg/2016/3/6/to-hvitlk-en-munk-og-et-fengsel-i-valdres>
- About the 'Tenk ut' reflection groups: <https://frifagbevegelse.no/forside/cristian-27-er-tidligere-straftedomt-na-er-han-tilbake-i-fengsel-for-a-rehabiliterer-innsatte-6.183.526297.bed0f911b0>
- About the gift exchange with the local kindergarten: <https://www.nrk.no/innlandet/barnehagen-droppa-adventskalender-til-seg-sjolv-og-gav-til-fengselet-i-staden-1.15302264>

³³ A confirmation is a ceremony whose purpose is to mark the transition from childhood to adulthood. It has a long tradition in Norway and takes place at the age of 15. Confirmations can either be religious or non-religious.

4.2 Søndre Vestfold fengsel, Berg avdeling

Introduction

Søndre Vestfold fengsel, Berg avdeling (Southern Vestfold prison, Berg department, from now on “Berg prison”) is a lower-security prison opened in 1975. Berg is located in the outskirts of Tønsberg, in Vestfold and Telemark county.

The prison is built as a camp, with several barracks serving a range of different purposes. Berg is especially known for providing versatile educational and working opportunities. For instance, the prison runs a farm, where the incarcerated are given the responsibility of tending cattle, sheep and cultivating a range of agricultural products.



Photo: Tom A. Paulsen / Wikimedia Commons

Prison size

Berg prison has a capacity of 48 beds, which makes it a small to medium sized prison in a Norwegian context.

Differentiation

Security level:

As a lower-security prison, Berg has no extensive security measures aside from a high fence around the prison area. It is located a fifteen-minute distance from the city centre of Tønsberg by bus. The main gates of the prison are open on weekdays, and the residents are free to roam the entire prison area at will. Some of the residents are also employed in workplaces outside the prison as a part of their reintegration programme. They are therefore allowed to leave the prison on weekdays by bus or their private cars.

RESCALED-principles in practice:

- ☐ Small scale
- ☒ Differentiated
- ☒ Community-integrated

The key to the security in Berg is dynamic security, based on the mutual trust and relations between the residents and the officers. The residents have a range of privileges at Berg, and have more to lose if they misbehave.

Residents who break certain rules, or are acting oppositional or hostile towards the officers or others, may be sanctioned by being transferred to a high-security prison.

Target group:

Berg accepts people imprisoned for all types of offences and of all ages. The residents are nevertheless carefully selected through interviews and based on a recommendation by their current prisons. Ideally, the people accepted to

Berg have some years of their prison sentence left, thus there is enough time to work on personal development. As well as people with ordinary sentences, Berg also accepts people on preventive detention.

Activities:

Berg has a great focus on the use of activities as means of the reintegration process. When the residents arrive at Berg, they are employed at one of several different workplaces according to their own wishes. The workplaces include a carpentry workshop, an automobile workshop, a kitchen, the farm and greenhouse, and a laundry room. However, it is not always possible to offer work at their preferred activity, as it also depends on the needs and capacity at the time of arrival.



Olive oil, pesto and honey are some of the many products produced at Berg. Photo: Norwegian Correctional Service / Flickr

At the workplaces, the residents are offered the possibility to take different courses which may result in a certificate of apprenticeship in subjects such as cooking, as a carpenter, in agriculture or as a car mechanic. Additionally, some people lacking formal education may take secondary school courses. The residents may also take full-time courses and degrees in higher education at the nearby University of Southeastern Norway, or digital courses in other institutions.

Some of the residents work outside the prison and therefore leave the prison daily. Some work for instance in postal services or automobile repair shops.

Berg has a special focus on evening activities, and they have employed a leisure time coordinator who organises different activities for the residents, along with the officers. This may be fishing trips outside of the prison, spinning classes in the gym, yoga, football, volleyball training or other activities. Inside the prison area is a 2 km mulch pathway going around the prison, a volleyball court, football field and several disc golf courses. In addition, they have cycling and running groups, who exercise weekly outside of the prison gates. The residents are also offered weekly rehearsals with a music teacher from the local upper secondary school.

Agriculture: The residents working in the agricultural section at Berg have the responsibility of tending a dozen cattle and almost one hundred spelsau, the oldest breed of sheep in Norway.

As well as the officers being a natural part of the activities at Berg, a priest is available some days of the week if the residents want to talk freely to someone from the "outside". The prison priest also organises weekly walks in the mulch pathway for those who want it. Other activities include weekly shopping in the local grocery store.

Community-integration:

Location and architecture:

Berg is located in the outskirts of Tønsberg, a city of around 50.000 people at an hour drive from Oslo. Berg is situated on top of a small hill in an agricultural landscape. The open area of the prison, accompanied by large green spaces, is greatly valued by the residents. The area around the prison is a popular hiking area as well, and the residents have contributed to clearing a forest pathway around the area nicknamed "Bergstien" which is popular among local joggers and hikers.

Even though Berg is located in the outskirts of Tønsberg, it is close to the popular residential areas of Eik and Søndre Berg. The bus directed towards the city centre stops 200 metres from the prison gates every 15 minutes.



The buildings in the bottom right constitute the automobile workshop, while the buildings in the top left are a part of the agricultural section. Photo: Gule sider

The buildings at Berg are mostly barracks with one floor from the 60s and 70s, recently renovated. The 48 residents live in three barracks with single rooms for every person. In each of the three barracks, there are shared bathrooms, a kitchen and a living room with a TV.

The low profile of the buildings, and the large area assigned to the prison, reminds of a camp, and not a traditional prison. In addition to barracks and mechanical workshops for the workplaces and living areas, there are buildings for the administration, school/library, cantina with visitor rooms, fitness centre and a house for visits by children of the residents.

Many of the Norwegian lower-security prisons were originally built for a different purpose. Berg opened as an ordinary prison in 1975. The site, however, has a grim history, as it was originally built in 1942 as an internment camp by the Nazi state police. Nicknamed "Quislings chicken coop", it was the sole internment camp primarily run by Norwegians during the war. Over 1200 people were imprisoned at Berg throughout the war, including 227 Jews who were transferred from Berg to extinction camps in Germany and Poland, primarily Auschwitz I and II. Only 7 survived.³⁴

Interaction with the community

Berg is active within the local community. Outside of the prison gates, there is a 24-hour open sales stall, known as "Bergboden", where the residents sell the products produced at Berg, such as vegetables, honey and benches, stools and birdhouses. They also sell a range of different seeds and flowers grown in the greenhouse. Every autumn, the residents arrange a popular farmers market where the local community can buy the products of Berg and nearby Bastøy prison³⁵, directly from the residents.

At times, the residents judge local football matches, or help with organising local marathons and cycling races. Residents who are part of the cycling group also participate in the yearly national Birkebeiner cycling race.

Berg is also tasked with the dissemination of the history of Berg internment camp. The only surviving structure of the internment camp is the isolation cellar under the kitchen barracks where prisoners were sent when they resisted the prison regime. Here, the residents have helped with building a museum telling the stories of the imprisoned during the war. This has resulted in a collaboration with local schools and the Vestfold county museum. Thousands of youth are every year given a tour of the museum cellar inside the prison, and learn about the history of the camp, the German occupation and the Holocaust. Outside of the prison gates is a stone memorial dedicated to those imprisoned for their resistance against the Nazi regime, as well as the Jews who were sent to their deaths in Auschwitz through Berg.

Remembrance: The Vestfold county museum has developed a learning programme called "It also applies to you" for youth who have visited the museum cellar at Berg. Incarcerated people with a particular interest in history are invited to lecture about Berg's history in front of the pupils.



This stone was discovered within the prison compound and found to be engraved by prisoners at Berg during the war. Today the stone is the centre-piece of a memorial to the victims of Holocaust and the people imprisoned at Berg. Photo: Marius Ruud / Creative Commons

³⁴ Despite the cruel treatment of prisoners, no deaths were recorded at Berg.

³⁵ Berg and Bastøy are situated in the same county and therefore collaborate. It takes about 20 minutes to drive from Berg to the harbour where the ferry to Bastøy departs from.

Berg is an important example of being able to preserve and disseminate the history of sites of tragedy, while at the same time using it for an important societal cause. The contrasts between the conditions at Berg in 1942 and 2022 could not be starker.

The residents of Berg are actively engaged in the maintenance of the museum and history of Berg. When people arrive at Berg for detention, they are given the opportunity to receive a tour of the museum cellar. The staff encourages the residents to take their visitors on a tour of the museum cellar as well.

Søndre Vestfold fengsel, Berg avdeling

Built: 1942

Capacity: 48 males

Security level: Low

Nearest city/town: Tønsberg

Nature of interaction: Visit

Publicity/read more:

- About Berg prison at the official website of the Norwegian Correctional Service: <https://www.kriminalomsorgen.no/soendre-vestfold-fengsel-berg-avdeling.5029286-237612.html>
- About the products produced in the prison: <https://www.prisonmade.no/fengsler/s%C3%B8ndre-vestfold-fengsel>
- About the history of the internment camp: <https://www.memorialmuseums.org/eng/denkmaeler/view/635#>
- About the forest pathway going around Berg: https://www.oslofjorden.com/kyststi/vestfold/berg-stien_toensberg.html
- Literature on the history of the internment camp and eyewitness accounts:
 - Bugge, Svein. (1948). *Quislings hønsegård: Berg interneringsleir*. Oslo: Alb. Cammermeyers forlag
 - Jacoby, A. og Sachnowitz, H. (2016 [1976]). *Det angår også deg. Herman Sachnowitz forteller*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm AS

4.3 Bjørgvin fengsel

Introduction

Bjørgvin fengsel (from now on "Bjørgvin prison") is a prison for men, and was opened in 2006. It is known for offering a wide range of activities and opportunities for the residents and has received a lot of attention for the concept of 'Straffekaffe' (coffee brewed by incarcerated people).



Photo: Norwegian Correctional Service

Prison size

Bjørgvin is a medium sized prison according to Norwegian standards, with 90 beds divided between two separate houses.

RESCALED-principles in practice:

- ☐ Small scale
- ☒ Differentiated
- ☒ Community-integrated

Differentiation

Security level:

Bjørgvin is a lower-security prison and has no extensive security measures. Bjørgvin does however look more like a prison compared to several of the other facilities described in the report. It has fences surrounding the prison, stricter regulations upon entrance and more CCTV.

The fence is mainly to prevent bypassers from entering the area, as the prison is located in a regular neighbourhood. The residents are allowed to walk freely around the prison area, but there are restrictions on entering and leaving.

Target group:

The target group of Bjørgvin is people with shorter sentences as well as people who are getting towards the end of their sentence.

Activities:

On the Prisonmade³⁶ website, Bjørgvin prison is described as 'an innovative and flexible prison in constant development, where creativity is cultivated'. Arrangements are being made for each individual resident to be able to use his abilities and ideas to influence their own workplace, during their period of imprisonment. The prison hence offers many different types of work, in addition to the tasks related to the operation of the prison. To be able to offer this broad range of work, Bjørgvin welcomes new collaborative projects with external actors at all times. This cooperation is important to Bjørgvin, as new projects between the prison, the public school and the business community outside the prison contribute to a constant variety of work and training opportunities.

³⁶ Prisonmade is the website where all products made by people incarcerated in Norwegian prisons are sold. It is run and owned by the Norwegian Correctional Service: <https://www.prisonmade.no/>.

The residents may for example choose between working with the production of coffee, food, pastries or ceramics, in the kiosk, in a bicycle workshop, on construction projects, or with maintenance work within the prison. There is also an opportunity for more creative stimulation, through for example working on music projects or working in the prison daycare centre for dogs. The prison has additionally employed a philosopher and an author, who offers individual conversations, philosophy sessions and writing courses.



Photo: Norwegian Correctional Service / Flickr

The most profiled product made in Bjørgvin prison is yet 'Straffekaffe', which is a result of a collaboration between Bjørgvin prison and a coffee brewery in Bergen ('Bergen Kaffebrønneri'). This collaboration involves barista courses for the residents, organised by the coffee brewery staff. After having completed this course, the residents are certified to roast coffee and pack the orders. The coffee is sold on <https://www.straffekaffe.no/>, which is a website owned by the Norwegian Correctional Service. Bjørgvin prison also has several regular customers, such as a hospital (Haukeland University Hospital), Oslo Red Cross, a catering firm/grocery store (Osøyra Kolonial) and a coffee shop run by former drug-addicts (=Kaffe).

Åsane upper secondary school is responsible for the education in Bjørgvin prison. They also assist people if they want to apply for higher education. Some go to school inside of the prison, while others go to school outside of the prison. This depends on their wishes as well as risk assessments.

In Bjørgvin, you will also find the activities that are typical for Norwegian prisons, such as going to the library, the gym and the activity room.

Furthermore, Bjørgvin offers treatment at 'Stifinner'n'. Stifinner'n is a collaboration between Tyrili (an NGO) and several Norwegian prisons, and is an offer for people who struggle with drug addiction. The treatment at Stifinner'n consists of group therapy, individual treatment, one-to-one guidance, and the opportunity to leave the prison more often than the other residents (for example going on bicycle trips).

In addition, Norway's first detoxification unit in prison is under construction and is due to open in Bjørgvin in 2022. The staff will consist of six prison officers from Bjørgvin and six employees from Haukeland University Hospital. In the unit, the residents will receive help with recovery from drug-addiction, and be 'patients' not 'inmates'.

Straffekaffe: Despite being a small team and only having one coffee roaster, Bjørgvin prison produces and sells about 5000 bags of coffee each year.



Photo: Private

Community-integration:

Location and architecture:

Bjørgevinn is located in Åsane, a 20-minute drive north of Bergen city centre. Åsane has about 42,000 inhabitants.

The prison is surrounded by a regular neighbourhood, and there are frequent buses to e.g. Bergen city centre stopping in a walking distance from the prison.

The prison consists of several medium-sized houses. The most 'well-behaved' residents live in a collective in one of these houses. The remaining half as well as new arrivals live in a separate house, where the administration is also located. The outside area is relatively large with rugged terrain, which gives good opportunities for outdoor training (e.g. riding a bike or running). The residents can move freely between the buildings, and there are e.g. benches around the area, where one can sit down and enjoy the outdoors. Outside the prison area, one gets a view of both the mountains, the forest and the sea.



Aerial photo of Bjørgevinn and its connecting buildings. Photo: Gule sider

Bjørgevinn was originally built as an institution for people with psychiatric disabilities, and functioned as such from 1962 to 1998. From 1998 until Bjørgevinn opened in 2006, it functioned as a refugee centre.

A prison unit for youth aged 15-18 was opened right next to Bjørgevinn in 2009. This is called 'Bjørgevinn fengsel, Ungdomseininga', and is one of two youth prisons in Norway. It can house up to four youths, both males and females, and has a high security level.

Bjørgevinn is also located a 10-minute drive from Bergen prison, a high-security prison with 203 beds.

Interaction with the community:

Bjørgevinn prison produces and sells goods to the public, which are sold on the Prisonmade website and the website of Straffekaffe. The residents and the public do not have much direct contact during this process.

The residents run a café inside the prison, together with the workshop officer, where the residents have contributed to the design and interior. The café is only available to the prison staff and the residents, however, they recently designed and developed a portable coffee bar. The portable coffee bar was used for the very first time in 2021 during a political festival called Arendalsuka³⁷, where three of the residents and the workshop officer sold bags of coffee beans as well as newly brewed coffee. This initiative seemed to be highly appreciated by the attendees of the festival.

Straffekaffe also has its own Facebook page, where they show off their products as well as life inside of prison.

As Bjørgevinn is a lower-security prison, some of the residents are allowed to work outside of the prison. Some also go to a regular upper-secondary school outside of the prison, as Åsane upper-secondary school has its own class and location for incarcerated people.

Bjørgevinn fengsel

Built: 1962

Capacity: 90 males

Security level: Low

Nearest city/town: Bergen

Nature of interaction: Visit

³⁷ An annual political festival where political parties, lobbyists, organisations, companies and others gather in the coastal city of Arendal for a week of debates, seminars and lobbying. Considered the most important forum in Norwegian politics.

Publicity/read more:

- About Bjørgvin prison at the official website of the Norwegian Correctional Service: <https://www.kriminalomsorgen.no/bjoergvin-fengsel.5064971-237612.html>
- About the youth unit of Bjørgvin at the official website of the Norwegian Correctional Service: <https://www.kriminalomsorgen.no/bjoergvin-fengsel-ungdomseininga.5061597-237612.html>
- The website of Straffekaffe: <https://www.straffekaffe.no/>
- Bjørgvin prison on Prisonmade: <https://www.prisonmade.no/fengsler/bj%C3%B8rgvin>
- Straffekaffe on Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/straffekaffe>

4.4 Bastøy fengsel

Introduction

Bastøy fengsel (from now on “Bastøy prison”) is Norway’s largest lower-security prison for men. It was opened in 1983, and has received a lot of international attention for its unique features.

Prison size

Bastøy can house up to 115 people and is regarded as a large-scale prison in a Norwegian context.



Photo: Ole Kristiansen / Gjengangeren

Differentiation

Security level:

Bastøy is a lower-security prison and does therefore not have extensive security measures. While some lower-security prisons have a low fence to prevent bypassers from entering the prison area, this is not necessary at Bastøy. The reason for this is that the prison’s location on an island works as a natural security installation and a barrier between the prison and society.

RESCALED-principles in practice:

- ☐ Small scale
- ☒ Differentiated
- ☐ Community-integrated

Target group:

Bastøy is mainly for people who are getting towards the end of a longer sentence. The majority are imprisoned for violence, drug-related crime or murder. The average length of sentence is about 5 years, and they stay at Bastøy for an average of 1,6 years. The average age is just below 40.

Some of the residents have been transferred from other prisons, while some come directly to Bastøy. One has to apply to be accepted to the prison and a requirement is that one is motivated and ready for change.

Activities:

The vision of Bastøy is ‘the development of responsibility through running an island community together’. The work operation at Bastøy reflects this vision, and consists of an agriculture department, a construction department, a kitchen department and a maritime department. The people employed in the agriculture department may work in the stable, the barn or the forestry. In the stable and barn, one takes care of the animals, while in the forestry, one chops and delivers timber, produces wood stacks, works at the prison plant nursery, or takes care of the prison land. The construction department is in charge of the maintenance of all the prison buildings. They also have a small

Showcase: Bastøy prison has been portrayed as an example of the Scandinavian Correctional System in numerous international documentaries and articles. US filmmaker Michael Moore featured Bastøy in the 2015 documentary *Where To Invade Next*, as well as in his 2007 documentary *Sicko*, which was nominated for an Academy award for best documentary feature.

workshop, where they produce various wooden products for sale or internal use. Those employed in the kitchen cook dinner for all the residents and lunch for the employees. They may also work in the grocery store on the island. At the maritime department, one can work at the prison ferry.

At Bastøy, user involvement is key, and is practised through 'øyråd' ('an island council'). Øyråd consists of regular meetings, where the residents can provide feedback and suggestions for change.

In addition, Bastøy has a drug-rehabilitation unit, specially adapted for people who struggle with drug-addiction. Bastøy also has a unit called Blueshuset ('the Blues house'). This unit has 7 beds and is a programme for people who want to learn to play an instrument. The unit has its own band called 'Skyldig som faen' ('Guilty as fuck'). They perform at several yearly conferences, festivals and local blues clubs.



The ferry MF «Vederøy» connects Bastøy with the mainland and the city of Horten. Photo: Bastøy prison

Community-integration

Location and architecture:

Bastøy is located on an island in the municipality of Horten. Horten is a coastal town, located along the Oslofjord. Horten is the smallest municipality in the county of Vestfold and Telemark measured in area, but at the same time, its most densely populated municipality. Horten had about 27,500 inhabitants in 2021.

To get from Horten to Bastøy, one has to take a ferry, which goes back and forth about 11 times a day during the weekdays. The ferry cannot be used by the public, and is only available for the residents, the staff and people visiting the prison.

Bastøy is a micro-society. They rely on natural barriers in the nature rather than concrete and barbed wire. The prison has about 80 different buildings, in addition to roads, beaches, cultural landscapes, agriculture and a forest. The prison also has its own lighthouse, which can be rented for meetings and seminars. This is mainly an offer for the Norwegian Correctional Service and staff members, but it may also occasionally be rented out to other organisations.

Despite being regarded as one of the most progressive prisons in the world, the island of Bastøy has a brutal history. It originally opened as an institution for neglected and troubled youths, and functioned as such from 1898 to 1970. In 1970, it was turned into a state-owned institution for people with drug-addiction. This was not particularly successful either, and the institution was closed down in 1983. Shortly after, it was decided that the property would be used for a prison.

User involvement: In addition to user involvement through 'øyråd', Bastøy once invited former residents back to the island, to give advice on how they could improve. Training in new technologies and more community-integration were two of the most frequently mentioned suggestions.



Aerial photo of the main area of Bastøy. The ferry docks at the wharf in the top left corner. Photo: Gule sider

This was supposed to be a temporary solution, due to capacity issues in Oslo prison. However, it became an independent prison in 1988. They then started to accept residents from all over the country. Some of the buildings were built after the prison opened, while some were built for the original purpose.

Interaction with the community:

Bastøy is located on an island and the residents hence do not interact much with the public. However, while most of the island belongs to the prison, parts of it are open to the public. Bastøybukta is one of these places, which is a very popular beach. The prison ferry is not available to the public, but one can get there by boat. The public beach is cleared by the prison each morning.

In addition, products produced in the prison are sold to the inhabitants of Horten (e.g. wood stacks).

Bastøy fengsel

Built: 1900

Capacity: 115 males

Security level: Low

Nearest city/town: Horten

Nature of interaction: Meeting

'Village prisons': In 2008, a working group consisting of amongst others the former prison governor of Bastøy, Tom Eberhardt, suggested to build 'village prisons' in Norway. Village prisons would be small-scale versions of Bastøy, integrated in their local community. The same working group also suggested to develop 'Correctional Service Centres', where convicted people would be interviewed after receiving their sentence, in order to find the best-suited prison for that individual in particular. Both suggestions were included in Report. No. 37 to the Storting, but were never put into practice.

Publicity/read more:

- About Bastøy prison at the official website of the Norwegian Correctional Service: <https://www.kriminalomsorgen.no/bjoergvin-fengsel.5064971-237612.html>
- Official website of Bastøy prison: <http://www.bastoyfengsel.no/>
- About the public part of Bastøy: https://www.oslofjorden.com/badesteder/vestfold/bastoeybukta_badeplass_horten.html
- About (rental of) the prison lighthouse: <http://www.bastoyfengsel.no/fyret.html>

5.0 Transition houses

There are eight transition houses in Norway. These are generally located in regular houses or apartment buildings, housing between 12 and 24 residents. The residents have often spent a longer period of time in prison before being transferred to the transition house, and tend to be imprisoned for serious crimes (2/3 for violence, drug-related crime or sexual offences). The staff in transition houses wear everyday clothes. Although the transition houses are less restrictive than prisons, they are still regarded as such. The recidivism rate after two years for people released from a transition house is about 11 percent. In comparison, about 31 percent of the people released from a high-security prison commit a new crime within two years.³⁸ The average expenses per person in a transition house was 692.000 NOK in 2020, the lowest average cost out of all security levels in Norwegian prisons.³⁹

5.1 Oslo overgangsbolig, Torshov avdeling

Introduction

Oslo overgangsbolig, Torshov avdeling (Oslo transition house, Torshov department, from now on "Torshov transition house") is one of two transition houses in Oslo.

They accept both male and female residents, and the target group is people who are getting towards the end of a longer sentence.

Prison size

Torshov has 16 beds and is a small-scale prison/transition house.



Photo: Gule sider

Differentiation

Security level:

The transition houses have the lowest possible security level in Norway⁴⁰. At Torshov, the conditions of imprisonment are supposed to be as similar to the normal situation in society as possible, with the difference that they must stay in the institution at night. During the day, the residents are supposed to be at work or school out in the society.

RESCALED-principles in practice:

- ☑ Small scale
- ☑ Differentiated
- ☑ Community-integrated

Half of the staff at Torshov are social workers, while the rest are prison officers. The staff is yet referred to as 'employees', not 'officers', while the people living there are referred to as 'residents', not 'inmates'. The residents have

³⁸ See the Norwegian Correctional Service (2021), page 22

³⁹ See the Norwegian Correctional Service (2021), page 8

⁴⁰ Accounting for prison institutions, excluding alternative forms of punishment (e.g. electronic monitoring or community sentences).

their own key to their room, have to sign a tenancy agreement and pay rent. This accounts for both the residents who study⁴¹ and go to work, but the rent is considerably lower compared to renting a regular apartment.

They are also allowed to use private phones and computers, and keep most of their personal belongings in their rooms. The front door is locked at all times and one has to ring a bell for entering and leaving. Except for that, there are very few security measures.

Target group:

The target group of Torshov is people who have been imprisoned for a while, and are in need of help to readjust to life outside of the prison walls. The residents are often convicted of serious crimes and have served long sentences in other prisons prior to their transfer. Torshov transition house does, however, not accept people imprisoned for sexual offences or organised crime, due to previous incidents as well as the fact that they accept both men and women.

"NIMBY": When the Norwegian Correctional Service planned to open a new transition house outside of Oslo, the neighbours of Torshov wrote a letter about their experiences to the neighbours living close to the suggested property, in an attempt to reduce NIMBY-resistance.

The residents should have an expected release within one year upon entry, but one is allowed to stay for up to 18 months. The focus of the transition house is to ease the transition back to society, as well as training in living and social skills. All residents get appointed a contact person, which provides close follow-up, and whom they will collaborate with in the process of preparing life after imprisonment.

Activities:

As opposed to the prisons with a high or lower security level, the transition houses do not have a school department or any job offers. This is because the residents at this stage are supposed to re-create their own life and start preparing for transition back into society. One of the requirements for getting transferred to a transition house is therefore that one already has a job or somewhere to study, as all the residents are supposed to be out of the transition house on temporary release during the day.

The same accounts for evening activities and time off work: the residents are supposed to prepare for life after prison and initiate their own activities. However, the transition house occasionally offers arranged activities inside and outside of the house. They also offer parenting and relationship courses, in collaboration with Torshov church. Otherwise, the residents are supposed to make use of services available in the public sector, equally to all other citizens.

They also do their shopping at regular stores, use their own service providers (e.g. GP) and their own phones and computers. At Torshov, the residents can receive up to three visits a week.

Community-integration

Location and architecture:

Torshov is located in the district of Sagene, in the municipality of Oslo. The municipality has about 700,000 inhabitants, while Sagene has about 44,000.

⁴¹ Students apply for a regular student loan, which can be used to pay rent.

The transition house is incorporated in a regular apartment building, in a regular neighbourhood. It is located right next to a small shopping centre as well as a park and a kindergarten. Buses and trams go by regularly, and take about 20 minutes to the city centre. The surrounding area is however slightly strained, and consists of many older apartment buildings.

The residents of Torshov live in a form of collective. Each person has their own room, with a bed and a desk. These rooms are relatively small, and the entrances are placed along a long corridor. Along this corridor, one will also find a gym and shared bathrooms. The common room is relatively large, and located at the opposite end of the rooms. At the heart of the common room, is a large kitchen. The common room also consists of a reception, meeting rooms and two living rooms. One of the living rooms has a pool table and a TV. The whole room is characterised by a very homely atmosphere, with paintings, flowers, and decorative items. This has been an intentional choice: it is supposed to feel like a home and enable social interaction. The transition house also has a balcony, with flowers and outdoor furniture. There is a park right in front of the balcony, where the residents sometimes have a barbeque.



Aerial photo of the apartment building housing Torshov transition house. Photo: Gule sider

Torshov transition house and the apartment building it forms part of was built in the 1970s, and was originally owned by the Probation Service. It has now operated as a transition house for over 25 years. Despite its central location and few restrictions, the transition house has only had three serious incidents in the 25 years it has been operational. In these cases, the whole neighbourhood has been called in for a common meeting, where they have been informed and allowed to raise their questions and concerns.

Interaction with the community:

Due to their low security level, the transition houses are the closest one can get to community-integrated imprisonment in a Norwegian context. The residents interact with the community on a daily basis, and take part in society through e.g. work, studies and the use of regular service providers. The transition house offers something to society through e.g. participation in 'dugnad' (voluntary work in the community). At the same time, the residents offer something to society through participation in regular work and studies.

Oslo overgangsbolig, Torshov avdeling

Built: 1970s

Capacity: 16 males and females

Security level: Low / transition
house

Nearest city/town: Oslo

Nature of interaction: Visit

Publicity/read more:

- About Torshov transition house at the official website of the Norwegian Correctional Service:
<https://www.kriminalomsorgen.no/oslo-overgangsbolig-torshov-avdeling.5018829-237612.html>

5.2 Oslo overgangsbolig, Gamlebyen avdeling

Introduction

Oslo overgangsbolig, Gamlebyen avdeling (Oslo transition house, Gamlebyen department, from now on "Gamlebyen transition house") is a transition house for men. It is the second transition house in Oslo, in addition to Torshov. The two transition houses are run by the same Prison Governor, and the practice is therefore relatively similar. However, there are some differences in their location, architecture and target groups.

Prison size

Gamlebyen has 20 beds and is a small-scale prison/transition house.

Differentiation

Security level:

The security measures at Gamlebyen transition house are similar to the ones at Torshov⁴², with no CCTV, no phone or computer restrictions, and no fences. The only physical security measures are barriers for entering and leaving. Residents also occasionally have to take a drug test upon return to the transition house, as one is not allowed to drink alcohol nor use other illegal substances during temporary release. This is common practice in all transition houses, and also accounts for Torshov.

Target group:

Similar to Torshov, the target group of Gamlebyen is people who are at the end of a longer sentence. As opposed to Torshov, however, Gamlebyen does not accept female residents. They do accept people imprisoned for sexual offences.

Activities:

The daily activities at Gamlebyen are similar to those at Torshov. The residents leave the house during the day, to study or go to work, and are able to go on temporary release for other purposes relatively often. Gamlebyen also offers a few activities arranged by the prison, for example seasonal activities during the weekends and workouts in the backyard gym. Both Gamlebyen and Torshov has a close collaboration with Red Cross and Wayback, and the residents occasionally participate in activities arranged by these orgai



Photo: Jan-Tore Egge / Wikimedia Commons

RESCALED-principles in practice:

- ☑ Small scale
- ☑ Differentiated
- ☑ Community-integrated

Proximity: Oslo transition house, Gamlebyen department is located only a few minutes' walk away from Oslo prison, one of Norway's largest high-security prisons with 243 beds.

⁴² See 4.1. Oslo overgangsbolig, avdeling Torshov.

Community-integration

Location and architecture:

Gamlebyen transition house has a very central location in the Old Town of Oslo, a district that has about 59,000 inhabitants. It takes about 15 minutes to walk to the city centre/train station, and buses, trams and the underground leave regularly from (almost) right outside the entrance. The transition house is also easily accessible by car, with free parking in the nearby streets. The buildings in the area are predominantly from the 1890s, and many of them are protected. The building where the transition house is located was built in 1877 and was originally a private school. The Norwegian Correctional Service now uses the whole building, which consists of three floors. The transition house is surrounded by a couple of businesses, but mainly regular apartment buildings.

Interaction with the community:

As at Torshov, the residents interact with the community on a daily basis, and take part in society through e.g. work, studies and the use of regular service providers.



Gamlebyen transition house is located in the apartment building in the centre, south of the crossing street. Photo: Gule sider

Publicity/read more:

- About Gamlebyen transition house at the official website of the Norwegian Correctional Service:
<https://www.kriminalomsorgen.no/oslo-overgangsbolig-gamlebyen-avdeling.5025025-237612.html>

Oslo overgangsbolig, Gamlebyen avdeling

Built: 1877

Capacity: 20 males

Security level: Low / transition house

Nearest city/town: Oslo

Nature of interaction: Visit

6.0 Half-private initiatives

According to the Norwegian Execution of Sentences Act § 12, a sentence may be partly executed in the form of 24-hour detention in an institution. The purpose behind this act is to provide an offer to sentenced people who might require special assistance the prison cannot provide, or if the Norwegian Correctional Service determines that the offender does not belong in an ordinary prison. People with a severe drug problem may for instance be placed in a drug-rehabilitation institution instead of a prison, and young offenders may be placed in the care of the Norwegian Child Welfare Services. Some people may also serve the final part of their sentence in an institution, if the Norwegian Correctional Service approves the application. People with longer sentences can benefit from a gradual progression from high-to-lower security, and afterwards serve the remainder of the sentence in an institution.

6.1 Elevator (The Salvation Army)

Introduction

Elevator is an institution for people who are getting close to the end of their sentence. It is run by the Salvation Army, and fully financed by the government, through the Directorate of the Norwegian Correctional Service. There are no prison officers from the Correctional Service employed at Elevator, and the employees are usually educated within social work or nursing.

Elevator assists the residents in the process of gaining safe housing, meaningful employment, a predictable economy, a clarified health situation and a positive social network. Their aim is that this is obtained for all residents by the time of release.



Photo: Elevator / The Salvation army

Prison size

Elevator has 30 beds and is a small-scale institution.

Differentiation

Security level:

There are no particular static security measures at Elevator, except that the front door is locked at all times. To enter, one has to ring the doorbell. As Elevator can only house 30 residents, the selection process excludes people who require more extensive security measures.

There are yet routinely drug controls, with breathalysers and urine samples. The urine samples are not taken at Elevator, but at a nearby medical lab. This is to ensure that Elevator remains a drug-free community.

RESCALED-principles in practice:

- ☑ Small scale
- ☑ Differentiated
- ☑ Community-integrated

Target group:

Elevator house all genders, and welcomes detainees from every region of the country. Their target group is people with 3 to 12 months left of their sentence, who are motivated for change. It is a requirement that the applicant has been sober for at least 4 months.

Elevator also house more vulnerable groups of residents, such as developmentally disabled or people on preventive detention. In these cases, the stay is adapted to their specific needs.

Activities:

The residents of Elevator are required to be at least 50% employed, or alternatively engaged in programmes at the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration ('NAV'). Elevator offers a broad range of different activities and services to their residents. Each resident is given debt counselling and assistance in the process of contacting different welfare services.

Each resident is given a primary contact for the duration of their stay at Elevator. The resident and their primary contact map their needs, plan the given person's goals for the stay, and write a plan for probation or release. The judicial responsibility for the residents is, however, ascribed to the Probation Service. The Probation Service follows up each of the residents' sentences, and is the contact centre for questions regarding each case (e.g. probation, use of electronic monitoring, community services etc.).

The residents live together in shared apartments, and they perform daily activities together, such as cooking and cleaning. The employees also help the residents with their daily chores, such as paying bills or grocery shopping.

Elevator has employed an activity coordinator, who oversees weekly activities in the evenings and weekends. They also arrange reflection groups hosted by formerly incarcerated people.

Community-integration:

Location and architecture:

Elevator is located in an apartment complex near Tveita in Oslo. There are five floors with different facilities and living quarters for the residents. The first floor is the common area for the whole apartment complex, where the service desk of the employees is also located. There are also offices, community rooms, and a shared kitchen on the first floor. The community rooms have cable TV and pool tables available.

The residents' rooms are located on the 2nd and 3rd floor. Each resident is given a dorm on arrival, with a bed, dresser, fridge, closet and an armchair. The residents on these floors share a kitchen, showers and toilets. Elevator also has a larger apartment which the residents may use for visits from children and family.

«I am generally very pleased with Elevator. It means that I can begin to organise and facilitate my everyday life on my own, which I otherwise wouldn't bother with at all. I think it's a bit challenging to grade my stay here, as a lot of the things I think should have been better is a result of a bureaucratic public system, and not the employees here. They do their absolute best in my opinion. And the most important for people of our situation is to have a feeling that someone cares about you. »

Former resident at Elevator



Photos: Elevator / The Salvation army

The 4th and 5th floors have separate apartments available for the residents. Vulnerable groups are however given priority. The female residents are always given an apartment of their own, as well as residents who are dependent on a wheelchair.

Additionally, there is a music and fitness room in the building, as well as a playground outside the building. The playground can be used for family visits.

Interaction with the community:

Elevator is an institution that cooperates with several different services and organisations. Additionally, the residents interact with other members of the community on a daily basis, such as when grocery shopping, being on public transport and at their daily employment. Even though it is classified as an institution, Elevator resembles more of a neighbourhood community and is thus a natural part of the surrounding area as much as any other apartment complex.



Elevator is located in the narrow apartment building in the centre of the aerial photo. Photo: Gule sider

Publicity/read more:

- About Elevator at the official websites of the Salvation Army:
<https://frelsesarmeen.no/fengselsarbeid/elevator>
- Read the brochure with a presentation of Elevator here:
<https://s3.eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/frelsesarmeen/Elevator-brosjyre-low.pdf>

Elevator

Built: 1966

Capacity: 30 males and females

Security level: § 12 institution

Nearest city/town: Oslo

7.0 Concluding remarks

This paper has now given a one-by-one overview of some of the remaining small-scale, differentiated and community-integrated facilities in Norway. In this chapter, we will present general remarks and impressions from the authors' point of view, when it comes to the meaning of size, differentiation and community-integration. The statements made in this part of the paper are not descriptive truths, but subjective notes made by the authors.

Discussion

In Norway, the small-scale prisons have often been described as old-fashioned. It is "what we did in the past." However, this is a truth with modifications. The small-scale prisons in Norway are indeed built in another time for another purpose and in this sense, they are old-fashioned. The material conditions are not up to date. They are not necessarily designed for interaction, nor for rehabilitation in the sense that rehabilitation is interpreted today. However, these are old-fashioned **because they are old, not because they are small-scale and community-integrated.**

The newest prisons in Norway have a modern appearance. They have applied new technologies. The buildings are new. They have been promoted in the media as modern solutions. The bottom line is, however, that these prisons apply the Philadelphia system and the disciplinary concept of panopticon. Designs that are over 200 years old. This is done despite the fact that these designs have been criticised for years. Despite knowing that these designs are harmful to human beings. They do indeed have a modern appearance, yet one may argue that these new prisons are less progressive than the older ones.

After visiting and meeting with these facilities as well as through conversations with other stakeholders, the authors are left with the same impression. All the units described in this paper are unique and many offer progressive means and measures of rehabilitation and reintegration. The small scale provides them with opportunities that would not be possible in a large-scale environment. The design and architecture should be modernised and adapted to the 21st century, but the framework of small-scale, differentiation and community-integration seem to offer many of the preconditions needed for humane imprisonment and successful reintegration.

The meaning of size

Everyday life in a large-scale prison tends to be characterised by rules, routines, control, logistics and unpredictability. Control and static security become more evident parts of prison life, as there are more people and larger areas to control. Extra precautions therefore have to be taken. You might become one of many, both as an officer and as a detainee. This may be regarded as an inevitable consequence of a large-scale. It is challenging to see and acknowledge the individual in a large-scale environment. Although the staff do their best, **the size and the fundamental structure of the prison inevitably affect how people engage with each other.**

In the small-scale prisons visited, the atmosphere appeared to be different. This mainly seemed to be linked to the personal and informal relationships between the incarcerated people and the staff, which in turn allowed for increased use of discretion, more instant decision-making, better dynamic security and higher levels of trust and responsibility. All these factors combined seemed to affect the motivation of both the residents and the staff.

On several occasions, the staff put forward the small-scale as essential to be able to keep the level of conflict down. As the staff and residents knew each other, they were able to identify when the other had a bad day. The threshold to resort to violence was high, due to the personal relationships and mutual respect. When applications were rejected, for

example for temporary release, the staff was able to sit down with the incarcerated person to explain the reasoning for the rejection.

The fact that the prison was small, also allowed for individually adapted follow-up. For example, although the majority of the facilities are not specialised on a specific group of incarcerated people, they are able to offer differentiated and tailor-made approaches to the residents because they are few and get to know each other on a personal level. As such, it may be easier to map out the needs of the individual person, provide an adapted reintegration plan and facilitate close follow-up.

The meaning of differentiation

The principle of progression and the principle that people shall not serve their sentence on a higher security level than necessary are two of the most important principles in the Norwegian Correctional Service. The principle of progression means that the prison conditions should gradually become less strict, and that the convicted person gets more freedom, the closer he gets to release. The purpose is to make it easier for the incarcerated person to adapt to life after imprisonment. The principle of a right security level, intends to prevent institutional damages.

Since 2019, 7 Norwegian prisons with a lower security level have been closed down. As a consequence, incarcerated people are now serving their sentences on a higher security level than necessary. For example, when one of Norway's newest high-security prisons opened in 2020, 80 out of 200 beds had to be used for people who were supposed to serve their sentences in a lower-security prison.⁴³ The situation was caused by the lack of available capacity on lower-security. This is problematic not only because a stay under a stricter regime increases the chance of damages caused by imprisonment, but also because of the financial costs. In Norway, a stay on high-security costs about 40,000 euros more each year per person compared to a stay on lower-security. Thus, if all people served their sentence on the right security level, one would have spared society of unnecessary costs and incarcerated people of unnecessary institutional damages.

The other side of differentiation takes into account that detainees are not a homogenous group. People are equally different inside of the prison walls as they are outside of the prison walls. A standardised approach toward rehabilitation and reintegration may therefore be counterproductive.

While Larvik prison is the only prison in this report which has one specific target group only, all the presented prisons differ from each other. They all have their own unique features, activities, type of location and approaches. By offering a range of alternatives, one is more likely to be able to meet the needs, preconditions and functional levels of different individuals. As such, the incarcerated people are more likely to get the assistance they need, under conditions that are suited for them. This may increase the chance of successful reintegration.

The meaning of community-integration

The hardest part of being imprisoned in Norway is often not the prison stay in itself, but returning to society.

It is challenging to plan for life after release, especially in a large and secluded high-security prison. The distance to the nearest city might be long. High walls and severe security measures are separating you and society. It is not easy to find a job, a place to live, maintain relationships or prepare for release when the needed preconditions are not present.

⁴³ See Ditlefsen et al. (2020)

At the same time, you are not only physically distant from society, but also mentally. While you have been in prison, life outside the walls has gone by without you. You may have lost contact with your friends and network, new technologies have been introduced, and your debts are increasing. As a way to cope with this situation, you might have gone into 'prison mode' ('soningsmodus'). You may have distanced yourself from the outside world, as **your current situation is too hard or too hurtful to bear.**

In several of the prisons visited, the location was put forward as vital for the reintegration process and the incarcerated peoples' opportunities to stay connected to regular life. The prisons were regarded as important workplaces and natural parts of the community, rather than a burden. The staff and the incarcerated people also implied that the interactions between the locals and the prisons have led to more open local communities and less stigmatisation. Through various interactions, the locals had gained an increased and more realistic understanding of crime and punishment. At the same time, the feeling of giving something back and being part of the community seemed to be valued by the incarcerated people.

From our observation, community-integration is a valuable asset which may provide a positive experience for incarcerated people *and* the locals. When the incarcerated people are positive contributors to their local environment, one may increase feelings of trust, safety and belonging, and facilitate more inclusive societies. At the same time, when the physical and mental distance is reduced, one may be able to reduce the gaps that occur in the transition between prison and society. For example, by having to seek new services in a new city, interrupted schooling, broken relationships or paperwork disappearing between the inside and the outside. When incarcerated people stay connected to community-life, they can leave the detention facility as a part of the community. With a good support system and the tools needed to face life after release. **Community-integration could thus contribute to social sustainability and stronger local communities.**

In conclusion

Research on Norwegian prisons has found that incarcerated people and staff thrive better in small-scale prisons. These findings are in line with the observations of the authors. Although the material conditions indeed are intact and better in the newest prisons in Norway, this does not seem to be the most important factor to those incarcerated.

Several of the incarcerated people we have spoken to during the visits and also through our daily work at Wayback⁴⁴ have similar experiences. What mattered the most to them was to be acknowledged, to be given trust, be treated with mutual respect and gaining a sense of accomplishment. New buildings and a modern appearance cannot make up for human contact and the value of personal relationships.

Similar observations have been described in research.⁴⁵ In the book 'Prison, architecture and humans', for instance, a formerly incarcerated person expressed how humanity is more important than materialism:

"On several occasions, I have been told to my face: "The prisoners in Halden have even got their own bathrooms - with tiles on the walls" (...) White tiles and a shower do not impress me. I'm not saying this because I was dissatisfied, but because, again, they seem totally unimportant to the pain I was still bearing. A tiled bathroom is not a substitute for a hug from someone who wishes you well. A tiled bathroom could not remove the sense of desolation. A tiled bathroom does not make you happy."

⁴⁴ Wayback (Stiftelsen Livet Etter Soning) is a Norwegian user organisation, supporting current and formerly incarcerated people in the process of reintegration.

⁴⁵ See Fransson et al. (2018)

Not only does the humanity experienced inside the prison seem more important than the material conditions, but also the contact with the world outside of prison.

In a report published by JURK, the authors asked an officer in one of the newest prisons in Norway about the residents' thoughts on being imprisoned in a facility with such high standards. The officer's response was that: *'a large prison yard and nice rooms will never make up for the longing for your family and friends.'*⁴⁶

Thus, although the material conditions indeed are intact and better in the newest prisons in Norway, relational preconditions appear more crucial to the residents.

At the same time, while being new and modern, the interiors of the newest prisons are sterile and standardised, with an institutional character. The older prisons, on the other hand, tended to have a homelier atmosphere, where the staff and residents had worked together to create and improve the interior. It seemed like this made the staff and residents feel more ownership of their home and working place, and also felt pride and unity in what they had been able to achieve together. One may argue that such an approach to the design and interiors can contribute to normalisation, as in regular life, one is able to work for and influence one's own living environment. Such projects also seemed to have a positive effect on the social climate as well as the relationships between the staff and the residents. As they had worked side-by-side towards a common goal, it appears as though the levels of trust and mutual respect had increased.

The way forward

The urgent need of replacing older and outdated facilities seems to have triggered an investment in new and larger prison facilities in remote locations. This is a trend seen not only in Norway, but also in other European countries.⁴⁷ However, as we are starting to see the consequences of this trend, it is crucial to look into the different components of the prison institution and the ways in which they affect those who work and live there. This process has started in Norway, as the new standardised prison building ('Model 2015') is currently being evaluated. This might open for a new era and direction in the Norwegian Correctional Service.

RESCALED suggest that the new era should be one of small-scale, differentiated and community-integrated detention houses. However, while research has found that staff and incarcerated people thrive better in small-scale prisons, research is still lacking on why. It has been implied that this is linked to the positive staff/resident relationships that often occur in small-scale environments, higher visibility of management and more opportunities to serve the sentence closer to one's home. However, this information should be further systemised and disseminated. As such, may get one step closer to achieving the vision and ambition of **'punishment that makes a difference'**.

Crime and punishment have enormous costs. The preconditions we lay for our penal system have major consequences not only for incarcerated people, but also for their families, the prison staff, (potential) victims and the society as a whole. By increasing incarcerated peoples' opportunities to stay part of the community and returning to a law-abiding life, one could lessen the number of broken lives, reduce unnecessary costs spent on crime and punishment, and last but not least, give rise to more **inclusive, safe, and sustainable societies**.

⁴⁶ See Aanstad et al. (2020)

⁴⁷ Penal Reform International (2022)

8.0 Appendices:

8.1 Appendix 1: Notes and explanations

Note on security level: Even though one only distinguishes between high-security, lower-security and transition houses in Norway, the level of security can feel very different from one high-security prison to another, and from one lower-security prison to another. One of the factors which seem to come into play is the prison size. Large-scale prisons more often require a higher focus on logistics and static security, as there are more people to 'control', people and groups who cannot meet, and the consequences might be worse if something goes wrong. Hence, stricter security measures are required. Each prison is also able to adapt their security measures to suit their respective prisons. Even though there are national requirements for each security level, the security measures are not universal for every high-security prison, lower-security prison or transition house.

Note on prison management: All Norwegian prisons are public and run by the Norwegian Correctional Service. The facilities described in this report are thus public prisons, except for Elevator. The Norwegian penal code allows some incarcerated people to serve their remaining sentence in an institution. Elevator is one such institution, but is not regarded as a prison.

Note on changes in the prison population: The majority of the prisons discussed in this paper reported that they had experienced a change in the prison population. Several of them used to house people imprisoned for minor crimes, such as traffic offences. However, due to changes in the legislation and political priorities, people who were previously imprisoned for minor offences are now typically on electronic monitoring. In addition, harsher sentences and a stronger focus on violent and sexual crime have led to a general change in the prison population.

Note on the import model: The Norwegian Correctional Service utilises the so-called "import model" in providing e.g. medical, educational or welfare services to the people in detention. In practice, it means that the local municipality or the local county is responsible for the services given in the prisons. All upper-secondary schools described in this paper are thus local upper-secondary schools which employ the teachers in the prisons. The import model is grounded in the principle that people in detention shall receive the same services as other people in society.

Note on the 1860-prisons: During the 1860s, 56 small-scale district prisons were built in Norway. While the majority of these prisons are closed down, a few are still operational today. This includes Larvik, Ålesund and Vik prison, which are all described in this report. These are high-security prisons, with Vik as an exception.

Translations of Norwegian terms:

Fengsel:	Prison
Kriminalomsorgen:	Norwegian Correctional Service
Frimsorgen:	Norwegian Probation Service
Lavere sikkerhet:	Lower-security
Høysikkerhet:	High-security
Overgangsbolig:	Transition house
Avdeling:	Department / section
Varetekt:	Custody / remand
Forvaring:	Preventive detention
Prøveløslatelse:	Probation
Tilbakefall:	Recidivism
Fengselsbetjent:	Prison / Corrections officer
Fengselsleder:	Prison governor / warden
Rusmestringsenhet:	Drug rehabilitation unit
Røde Kors:	Red Cross
Storting:	The Norwegian Parliament
NAV:	The Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration

Originally, the 1860s prisons consisted of cells, a courthouse and a space where the governor lived. The idea was that people could receive their sentence in the courthouse, and be escorted straight to a cell. However, as the arrangement of the Norwegian Correctional Service has changed, the court and director's living space have later been renovated and are used for other purposes (e.g. storage, entrance, visiting rooms).

These prisons were built during a time when one believed in the rehabilitation of people through solitary confinement and bible influence, and the design therefore allows for limited interaction. As the imprisoned people were supposed to be locked up in their cells all day, there were originally no walls, fences or prison yards (except a small square in the back of the prisons). These prisons therefore tend to look like regular houses from the outside.

All these institutions are now protected, which leaves limited room for rehabilitation. They therefore have an outdated infrastructure, which does not correspond to the standards of a modern correctional service. For this reason, the state has on several occasions considered closing them down. Yet, detained people and employees seem to prefer these prisons over the newer large-scale ones.

Despite not meeting today's standards, the architecture of the 1860-prisons bears the mark of good craftsmanship, use of good materials, and important history. The buildings were carefully designed according to their needs and beliefs at the time, and are also more robust and long-lasting compared to the prisons that are being built today.

Note on representativeness: The prisons covered in this paper are all facilities for men in the southern half of Norway. This may contribute to a lack of representation of both women and facilities in the northern parts of Norway. Women represent a mere 4 to 5 per cent of the Norwegian prison population. Incarcerated women are a marginalised group in a Norwegian context, and their living conditions are significantly less adjusted to their needs than is the case for men.⁴⁸ While there are female units within facilities primarily for men, there are only three prisons purely for women in Norway (Ravneberget, Bredtveit and Kragerø), all located in Eastern Norway. This underlines the importance of differentiating in detention facilities to ensure equal conditions for all genders.

Simultaneously, the paper does not cover any of the six prisons in Northern Norway. However, the intention of this paper was never to present the entire Norwegian Correctional Service. The purpose has been to present some examples of how one or more of the RESCALED principles are applied to existing Norwegian prisons. Some of the criteria for selecting these facilities have been small-scale (preferably below 30), successful differentiation strategies and creative or unique examples of community interaction. Even though there may be other prisons worth covering, the prisons mentioned nevertheless differ sufficiently in size, geographic location, security level, community integration and differentiation to present an adequate picture of RESCALED principles put into practice.

Note on images: Most prisons have restrictions on photography and mobile phone use within the prison. We have been permitted to take photographs within some of the prisons we have visited, although not all. Hence we have used images provided by the prisons themselves, and photographs available online. All images, photographs and maps used in the paper are permitted by the owner by agreement or through terms of the copyright licence.

⁴⁸ See *Sivilombudsmannen* (2017)

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